

BETWEEN MEMORY AND HISTORY:

THE RESTORATION OF TULBAGH AS CULTURAL SIGNIFIER



A 60-credit dissertation submitted in partial fulfilment of the Degree
of Master of Philosophy in the Conservation of the Built Environment.

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'A measure of civilization'

Let us always remember that our historical buildings are not only big tourist attractions... more than just tradition...these buildings are a visible, tangible history. These buildings are an important indication of our level of civilisation and a convincing proof for a judgmental critical world - that for more than 300 years a structured and proper Western civilisation has flourished and exist here at the southern point of Africa. The visible tracks of our cultural heritage are our historic buildings...they are undoubtedly the deeds to the land we love and which God in his mercy gave to us.^{1 2}

Fig.1. Front cover – The reconstructed splendour of Church Street boasts seven gabled houses in a row along its western side. The author's house (House 24, Tulbagh Country Guest House) is behind the tree (photo by Norman Collins).

¹ Church Street inaugural speech by Prime Minister Vorster on the 16th March 1974. Fagan and Fagan. *Church Street in het Land van Waveren* (Cape Town: Printpak, 1974)175.

² Translated from the original Afrikaans to English by Jacolette Kloppers (Media 24) and edited by author thereafter. Afrikaans original text: 'Laat ons dit altyd onthou, dat ons geskiedkundige geboue nie slegs daar is as groot toeriste-aantreklikhede nie. Hulle is selfs meer as luisterryke tradisie: hulle is sigbare, tasbare geskiedenis. Hulle is 'n vername maatstaf van ons beskawingspeil en 'n oortuigende bewys aan 'n bevooroordeelde, kritiese wêreld, dat vir meer as 300 jaar reeds daar 'n ordelike Westerse beskawing hier op die Suiderpunt van Afrika bestaan en floreer. Elke beskaafde land is trots op die spore wat hy gestap het op sy ontwikkelingspad – en die sigbare spore van ons kultuurerfenis is ons historiese geboue. Laat ons hulle dus sorgsaam bewaar en liefderyk in pand hou vir die nageslag, want hulle is inderdaad die transportaktes van die land wat ons liefhet en wat God in sy genade aan ons gegee het'.

Statement of Interest

I was born in Cape Town in 1973 and moved to Tulbagh in 2007 to establish a heritage hotel business in Church Street, suitably named Cape Dutch Quarters. Over the last decade I have volunteered, instigated and become deeply involved in local heritage matters. In 2008 I co-initiated the Tulbagh Valley Heritage Foundation which was registered as a local conservation body by Heritage Western Cape in 2013. As the current Chairman of the Foundation, I have worked towards the establishment of a heritage area to include both Church Street and the core of the old village. I am also a longstanding member of the town's Oudekerk Museum board of trustees and the affiliated Friends of the Museum Association. I am also an executive committee member of the Heritage Association of South Africa, the renamed once powerful Simon van der Stel Foundation.

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Plagiarism Declaration

I declare that *Between Memory and History: The Restoration of Tulbagh as a Cultural Signifier* is my own work and has not been submitted for any other degree and any other university

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Dedication

This study is dedicated to six remarkable people who represent over a century of Tulbagh conservation. They are three early Tulbagh residents and three heritage specialists who have become synonymous with the conservation and restoration of Tulbagh:

Sir Meiring and Lady Mary Beck	(1855 – 1919) (1865 – 1929)
Dr Mary Cook	(1902 – 1981)
Dr Hans Fransen	(Born 1931)
Dr Gwen and Gawie Fagan	(Born 1924 and 1925)



Fig. 2. Gwen and Gawie Fagan at the inauguration of the restored Drostdy (Cape Times, 8 October 1974).

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First and foremost my thanks go to my mother who instilled my appreciation for architecture, history, antiques, art, travel and things of beauty in general. She was born in 1947 in Dorchester, UK, as Joan Mary Harris (Ginny); in 1969 she moved to Cape Town, married WB Clark (Brian) in 1971 and died in 2016 in Tulbagh.

I would like to thank my amazing husband Marcel Augustyn-Clark for his unwavering support for my heritage passions and the last three years of my studies. In particular I would like to acknowledge his seemingly endless translations of long detailed 1969 'high' Afrikaans newspaper articles and National Monuments Council minutes in particular.

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My thanks to Wendy Upcott and Graeme Hurst, both friends and talented copy writers, who have selflessly over the years proofed my assignments and many versions of this thesis to remove all traces of my terrible spelling, poor punctuation, and bad grammar. I am also grateful to Doctor Patricia Davison, my neighbour in Church Street, for her detailed editorial assistance.

Abstract

This dissertation examines heritage as a social construct by way of critically accessing the precursors, proponents and processes of the Tulbagh restoration. This research is focused on understanding the reasons why and how, after the earthquake of 1969, Church Street was reinstated to its 'historic' 18/19th century appearance. This reconstructive restoration is unpacked within its South African socio-political, 20th-century situation to examine the motivations of the proponents behind the restoration as well as their conservation philosophies that underpinned the stylistic reconstruction of Tulbagh back to what was regarded as its Cape Dutch 'best'.

The study comprises of an examination of both the theoretical development and practical application of reconstructions. Research traces the development of conservation in South Africa, first under the Union government and then under the Afrikaner Nationalist government to understand how Afrikaner Nationalism was superseded by the creation of a white South African identity. Pierre Nora's theories around memory and identity are explored and applied in order to contextualise the Tulbagh case study in a theoretical framework to highlight similarities and differences.

The proponents of the Tulbagh restoration consisted of a wide and varied selection of the South African conservation fraternity and included the National Society, the Cape Institute of Architects, historian Dr Mary Cook, the Simon van der Stel Foundation, Anton Rupert and his Historic Homes Company, Gawie and Gwen Fagan and Dr Hans Fransen, as well as the National Monuments Commission/Council. These same role players came together in the decade before the earthquake to formalise their association, conservation resolve and philosophies. The findings of the study suggest that although united with a common vision, philosophy and determination, these conservation advocates all had their own agenda and differing motivations for their involvement in Tulbagh's restoration. Motivations ranged from straightforward conservation concern and a response to the threat of cultural devastation on one hand to ideological nation-building ideals and Afrikaner nationalism on the other. Although politics impacted early on and all three levels of government funded the bulk of the restoration costs, the diversity of the proponents suggests that this project was more complex than being motivated primarily by nationalism.

Keywords: conservation, restoration, reconstruction, heritage, memory, identity, nation-building, Fagan, Tulbagh

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Fig. 3. Aerial photograph of the older northern half of a Cape Dutch Church Street with largely Victorian main road and suburb above and rural agricultural land below (photo by Scott Farlam).

Glossary of terms and definitions

Authenticity is defined in the Venice Charter (1965) as any conservation and restoration activity needs to be based on a thorough knowledge of the heritage resource and the balanced definition of its artistic, historical and cultural significance. Priorities should be based on its artistic, historical and cultural significance and value judgments that are measured against the culture concerned, and with due awareness of the recognised international guidelines and recommendations.³ The intention in treatments should be to maintain the authenticity of the resource and the truthfulness of the sources of information in order to guarantee the credibility of its historical and cultural context.⁴

Conservation in architecture means all the processes of looking after a place so as to retain its cultural significance.⁵

Heritage is that which is inherited from the past and considered important enough in the present to be bequeathed to the future. It is paradoxical in its nature due to being representative of the past in the present.⁶ It is simultaneously a cultural product and a political resource which is controlled by those in power, who determine the constructed narratives and therefore the level of inclusion or exclusion of selected histories.⁷

Historicist in relation to the conservation of the built environment is used to 'characterise endeavours which intend to or hope to return a building or townscape to a 'historical configuration,' or an attempt to 'reconstruct history' or a past 'historical' appearance.'⁸

Ideology – Political or nationalist ideology is based on a set of particular ethical ideals, principles, doctrines, myths and symbols of a social or cultural movement or institution.⁹

³ Jokilehto, Jukka. *A History of Architectural Conservation* (London: Butterworth-Heinemann, 1999,) 63.

⁴ The 1965 Venice Charter (contemporary to the 1969 Fagan restoration of Tulbagh), was replaced/superseded by the Nara Document on Authenticity in 1994. The document addressed the need for a broader understanding of cultural diversity and cultural heritage in relation to conservation, in order to evaluate the value and authenticity of cultural property more objectively. It was drafted by 45 representatives from 28 countries after their deliberation on the definition and assessment of authenticity.

⁵ Australia ICOMOS. The Burra Charter 2013. Accessed January 26, 2017. <http://australia.icomos.org/wp-content/uploads/The-Burra-Charter-2013-Adopted-31.10.2013.pdf>

⁶ Shepherd, Nick, and Steven Robins, ed. *New South African keywords* (Johannesburg: Jacana Media, 2008,) 116-117.

⁷ Darke, Nicola. "Afrikaner Nationalism and the Production of a White Cultural Heritage – An analysis of selected works undertaken by Dirk Visser and Gabriël Fagan from 1967 – 1993" (M.Phil. diss., University of Cape Town, 2012,) xiv.

⁸ Townsend, Stephen. "Development rights and conservation constraints." (D.Phil diss., University of Cape Town, 2003), 18.

⁹ Darke, "Afrikaner Nationalism," xiv.

Nationalism /Afrikaner nationalism (nationalism – small n) is based on a political ideology that involves a strong identification of a group of individuals with a nation. It is often associated with a belief that one cultural, ethnic or religious group should be permitted to express national identity and dominate, even if they are in the minority.¹⁰ Afrikaner nationalism is rooted in the 'creation of an identity' for a group of peoples from various European countries, namely Germany, France and the Netherlands. This sense of nationalism was further strengthened by the British occupation of the Cape (1806), the Jameson Raid (1895) and the Anglo Boer war (1899-1902).¹¹

Nationalism/ Nationalist (capital N) denotes the political party (National Party) who ruled South African from 1948 to 1994 and their policies.

Preservation means maintaining the fabric of a place in its existing state and retarding deterioration.¹²

Proponents refer to the individuals and organisations that came to take leading roles in the Tulbagh restoration. These were champions, project leaders and advocates of the reconstruction who would mostly go on to form the Tulbagh Restoration Committee and are detailed in Appendix B.

Restoration according to UNESCO means 'returning the existing fabric of a place to an earlier known state' by removing accretions or by reassembling existing elements without the introduction of new material - and is only appropriate if there is sufficient evidence of an earlier state of the fabric.¹³ 'Restoration' as used in this research and according to the South African 20th century profession allows the introduction of new fabric.

Reconstruction is the 'returning of a place to a known earlier state' and is differentiated from restoration by the introduction of new material into the fabric.¹⁴ Reconstruction is only appropriate where a place is incomplete through damage or alteration and only where there is sufficient evidence to reproduce an earlier state of the fabric. Reconstruction should be identifiable on close inspection or through additional interpretations.¹⁵

¹⁰ Joireman, Sandra. *Nationalism and political identity* (London: Continuum, 2003,) 10-12.

¹¹ Van Graan, Andre. *Afrikaner nationalism and the search for the cultural identity* (Cape Town: University of Cape Town, 2003,) xii.

¹² Australia ICOMOS, Burra Charter, 2013, 1.6.

¹³ Ibid, 1.7.

¹⁴ Ibid, 1.8.

¹⁵ Ibid., 202.

Reconstructive restoration, although these preservationist terms when used apart have very different meanings and definitions according to contemporary charters, when used together in this research they denote the returning of a substantially altered, changed or damaged building to a known earlier state by the introduction of new material into existing fabric.^{16 17 18}

Stylistic restoration is defined as a ‘faithful preservation of the original architecture and its presentation to posterity intact’ This faithful restoration allows for the ‘reconstruction of lost features on the basis of analogy’¹⁹. Stylistic restoration in its ‘extreme form’ can result in works of pure fantasy.²⁰

Acronyms

CPIA	Cape Institute for Architecture formerly Cape Provincial Institute of Architects
HHSA	Historic Homes Company of South African
ICOMOS	International Council on Monuments and Sites
HMC	Historical Monuments Commission (pre-1969)
NMC	National Monuments Council (post-1959)
SA	Republic of South Africa (since 1961)
SvdS Foundation	The Simon van der Stel Foundation (Heritage organisation)
UCT	University of Cape Town
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
VOC	Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie (Dutch East India Company)

¹⁶ Mager, Tino, ed., *Architecture Re Performed: The Politics of Reconstruction* (Surrey, UK: Ashgate publishers, 2015,) 20.

¹⁷ Hirooka, Yuki Yoshi. “Reconstructive Restoration of Mainhall Hondou of Kumihma Honganji Temple: Study on restoration of architectural monuments by Suekiti Kameoka” (M diss., Kobe University Japan, 2010), i.

¹⁸ Mager, *Architecture Re Performed*, 22.

¹⁹ Jokilehto, *Architectural Conservation*, 272.

²⁰ *Ibid*, 344.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION, METHODOLOGY AND STRUCTURE

On the evening of Monday the 29th September 1969 at 22h05 in the Northern Boland, electric lights flickered a few times before a first light tremor was felt.²¹ 'Then Tulbagh's electricity failed completely and seconds later the full earthquake struck, which shook the Boland for a full 30 seconds!'²² 'When it came, it came with such a deafening blow and hit my old house so hard that the walls fell to the ground'.²³ 'The old farmhouse on Winterhoek Wes began to shake, the walls cracked, plaster fell off and dust was everywhere'²⁴ 'The earth shuddered and the road began moving and rolling towards us like waves, we thought it was the end of the world and that the Day of Judgement had arrived.'²⁵ 'People ran screaming out of their houses and started searching for their friends and families. We dug Auntie Gertie and her child out, but when we dug Lily's four-year-old child out from under the ruins, she was already dead'²⁶ 'It was a brick house and the walls fell inwards on us while we slept, I was trapped under a pile of rubble, unconscious. Since the earthquake I am frightened of the dark and never go to bed before four minutes past ten'²⁷ 'We could not make contact with our parents nor know if they were alive or dead'.²⁸

Despite Tulbagh's modest size and isolated location, its post-earthquake reconstruction was not the small-scale conservation of isolated important buildings by locals or affected residents. Whereas one might have expected a local or provincial reaction to the earthquake, there was in fact a national reaction of unprecedented scale. The Tulbagh earthquake and the subsequent 'reconstructive restoration' of Church Street, along with many of the gabled old farm houses in the valley, seemed to attract the nation's attention.

The restoration was the catalyst for a first nationwide conservation appeal, which, five years later resulted in the complete restoration of about 30 houses and various sites, including the whole of historic

²¹ Lena Marais, quoted in the earthquake exhibition at the Tulbagh Museums.

²² Fagan and Fagan, *Church Street*, 9.

²³ Piet Boer, quoted in the earthquake exhibition at the Tulbagh Museums.

²⁴ Johan Du Plessis, quoted in the earthquake exhibition at the Tulbagh Museums.

²⁵ Anneline Frederics, quoted in the earthquake exhibition at the Tulbagh Museums.

²⁶ Abraham Jakobus Andreas, quoted in the earthquake exhibition at the Tulbagh Museums.

²⁷ Japie Fortuin, quoted in the earthquake exhibition at the Tulbagh Museums.

²⁸ Rosette Jordaan, quoted in the earthquake exhibition at the Tulbagh Museums. 'Bad Moon Rising by Credence Clearwater Revival was a top hit at the time'.

Church Street in Tulbagh. Historic Homes and the Cape Institute for Architects led the initiative in 'partnership' with the National Monuments Council.²⁹ With nationalist undertones, the public relations and fundraising campaign used emotive and evocative images of shattered gables and derelict farmhouses to help garner popular and public support of heritage issues, as defined in apartheid South Africa. The inaugurated street was a huge success for those involved and all the restored buildings were declared National Monuments in order to preserve them for posterity.

The widespread 20th-century use of 'reconstructive conservation' in South Africa, however, seems to be out of line with contemporary international protocols. This has, in part, resulted in post-modern criticisms of the use of this controversial 'restoration' technique for having compromised the authenticity of affected sites as well as having promoted the socio-political agendas of the day. In this regard, this study examines the motives behind the widespread use of reconstructive conservation in the Cape during the mid-20th century and the processes of its application.

Ascencion Martinez, the Spanish art historian wrote in 2007, 'If we observe the recent proliferation of architectural clones from old or key buildings from the architecture of the 20th century, there is not a fragmentary or episodically phenomenon, but a true trend for which the motivations should be known'.³⁰ ICOMOS adopted a resolution in 2011 to 'initiate a debate of this growing phenomenon', noting the 'increasing disregard of existing theoretical principles for the justification of reconstruction and a new tendency towards significant commercialisation of reconstruction activities'.³¹

In recent years there have been several local studies undertaken which examined issues around the 20th century's reconstruction and restoration of significant Cape colonial architecture. However, there has been little academic study or research on the Tulbagh restoration and, for this reason, a detailed examination of the motives behind and the extent of this important restoration within the socio-political contexts of the day should be more fully accounted for.

The literature review in this research has been absorbed into the background sections, and previous research (who said and wrote what) has been adequately stated and referenced. This research is presented largely in a chronological sequence to demonstrate the often iterative nature of significant events within the larger framework of the development of conservation thought and practice.

²⁹ Fagan and Fagan, *Church Street*, 10 & 11.

³⁰ Mager, *Architecture Re Performed*, 83.

³¹ Mager, *Architecture Re Performed*, 85.

The story of South Africa is a colonial history, dominated by the rise, fall and a clash of identities and cultural values between its overlords and inhabitants: British imperialism and English nationalism, Afrikaner nationalism and Black consciousness/liberation. The tangible manifestations of a national ideology are created in part through the construction of monuments, iconic buildings and the identification of certain buildings or sites which are deemed to be nationally significant. Symbols are open to interpretation and liable to manipulation in order to justify particular political claims.³² In cases where a small elite controls political power, it also controls the writing and the re-writing of history. At a time when South Africa's white minority found its legitimacy being challenged from a variety of sources, it is to be expected that it should have sought to reinforce its precarious claim to tenure by elevating examples of its material culture to the status of 'monuments'.³³ History is written by the victors and those who have access to the means of historical production.³⁴

The counterpoint to this well known Tulbagh conservation is the relatively unknown story of the intentional destruction of several non-white hamlets in the Tulbagh valley (See appendix F). These were communities who had been equally devastated by the earthquake and whose thatched vernacular cottages were not considered to have heritage qualities. Consequently scores of these buildings were bulldozed within months and their populations relocated to housing in Coloured designated areas. These communities seem to have been 'officially forgotten' by the media which focussed on the reconstruction of Church Street as a metaphor for the recovery of the greater Witzenberg region.

Aims, research questions and limitations

This research examines the socially constructed nature of heritage through an understanding of the reasons why and how, after the earthquake of 1969, Church Street in Tulbagh was reinstated to its 'historic' 19th-century appearance, back into a form, which it was assumed to have had some 100 years prior to the earthquake. This question is unpacked within its South African socio-political, 20th century situation to examine the why (the motivations of the proponents) behind the restoration, as well as the how (conservation philosophies) that underpinned the stylistic reconstruction of Tulbagh back to its Cape Dutch 'best'.

³² Frescura, Franco. "National or Nationalist? Critique of the Monuments Council, 1936 – 1989," in *Proceedings of the National Urban Conservation Symposium*, Johannesburg, South Africa, ed. by Derick Japha and Vivienne Japha, (Johannesburg: Oakville Press, 1991), 2-6.

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ Murray, Noeleen, Nick Shepherd and Martin Hall, ed. *Desire Lines – space, memory and identity in the post-apartheid city* (London and New York, Routledge, 2007,) 169.

Research is primarily aimed at the uncovering of the precursors leading up to the Tulbagh restoration, as well as the identities, ideologies and motivations of the proponents of the Tulbagh restoration. Within its South African context the 'reconstructive restoration' of Tulbagh also raises sub-questions pertaining to:

- The concept of restoration-to-best-period, the origins of this philosophy and how has this manifested in the South African context.
- Significant South African socio/political and heritage events that impacted on the memorialisation of the built environment during the 20th century and, in particular, those that preceded and influenced the restoration of Church Street in Tulbagh from 1969 to 1974.
- The appropriation, revival and use of Cape Dutch architecture by different political groups in the 20th century, which suggest that this powerful symbol has played a significant and prolonged role in nation-building. The reconstruction of Tulbagh's gabled streetscape from 1969 suggests that the Cape gable had developed a new significance by that time.
- The motivations behind similar Cape restorations, and who the initiators and agents were, as well as how these projects were financed, administered and co-ordinated, as well as examining the socio-political message of each inauguration. Indeed, is there any evidence to demonstrate that nationalism was an influence or the driver behind the Tulbagh restoration?
- The further ideological construction of a unified Afrikaner identity and nationalist-inspired colonial heritage in the built environment.
- Exactly what was conserved, what was reconstructed, what was restored, what was demolished and what was excluded from the project.
- The source of the funding and the proportion of the funds that were from state coffers (national, provincial and regional) versus private or corporate donations.

Tulbagh was selected as the case study owing to the pioneering reconstructive restoration of the town thanks to the post-earthquake 1970s restoration of Church Street and several historic farmhouses in the valley. In all, the area constitutes 32 buildings, which in some ways implies 32 potential case studies. A 'century' of conservation efforts in Tulbagh exhibit virtually a full range of conservation techniques available to the curators of historic sites and thus are useful in this research as providing relevant examples of the different levels of intervention, as well as motivations for its preservation. This research will be limited by the following factors:

Proponents - The scope of this study does not permit an examination of the works of other significant conservation architects at the Cape contemporary with the 1970s Tulbagh restoration; although the

important works of Dirk Visser, who was a Fagan contemporary, will be acknowledged where appropriate to the study.

Area - The research is focused primarily on Tulbagh, but contextualised by discussions of the other 'old Cape Drostdy towns' of Stellenbosch, Paarl and Graaff-Reinet. Architectural conservations in Cape Town and the peninsula have been well covered in various publications and, with a few notable exceptions, will be excluded from this study.

Timeframe – The body of this study is focused on the period 1959 to 1969, which defines the decade leading up the Tulbagh earthquake and establishes the triggers that resulted in the restoration of the town. Earlier significant events and important conservations from the earlier part of the 20th century will be covered to provide a context for the 1959-onward events.

Theory - The Venice Charter of 1965 is considered to be contemporary with the reconstructive restoration of Tulbagh and therefore will be included and discussed. Later post-modern and 21st - century conservation charters that post-date the Tulbagh case will only be mentioned to contextualise modern conservation thought.

Methodology

The Tulbagh reconstruction after the 1969 earthquake was studied to explore issues around the reconstruction of the past in the present. The research uses mixed-method qualitative research approaches. The information sources were based on primary documents and secondary information, as well as several interviews to gather both local and expert opinions. This study relies on primary information in archival documents, sourced largely from SAHRA's NMC files and from the Fagans' extensive personal archives. Numerous interviews were completed over a period of three years with the few role players still alive almost half a century after the commencement of the Tulbagh restoration. Secondary information has been discovered in newspapers of the day, which has helped to fill in the gaps as well as other important published sources, including books and journals. As far as possible, where published work exists, the primary documents will be compared in a contemporary context for accuracy and meaning.

Theoretical framework

In order to provide a theoretical framework for this research into the reconstructed past, important thoughts, theories and philosophies around heritage, identity and memory need to be articulated and the concept of authenticity located in the narrative.

With regards to heritage, the early European restoration philosophies of the day (Wyatt, Viollet-Le-Duc, Ruskin, Morris, Boito and Riegl) will be mentioned in the body, to provide a theoretical framework around the concepts of preservation, restoration, conservation and reconstruction. Significantly, it is also these early ideas that would come to define 20th -century conservation and modern heritage theory and practice, which would eventually be consolidated and defined by the international UNESCO charters.

Modern French historian Pierre Nora argues that history, and therefore heritage, is a social and cultural construct and is thus open to interpretation, re-evaluation and manipulation. Nora's theory on memory and identity is useful in understanding how built form becomes symbolic of official public memory and institutionalised power.³⁵

Individually, the past is memory – collectively, it is history.³⁶ 'Our material and built heritage brings us closer to our history on one hand, while making us feel insignificant in the grander scheme. We infuse this heritage with the reality of past lives; it seems to speak of an identity of which we know little except that we are part of it'.³⁷

Structure

The main body of this study is arranged according to chronological aspects, which allows for retracing the development of 19th -century conservation theory, throughout the 20th century important socio-political developments and the significant restorations and memorialisation of the built environment to later emerge as heritage.³⁸

An examination of the literature on Cape architecture demonstrates that traditional architecture, and the Cape Dutch gable in particular, has always been used at the Cape as a cultural symbol by those in charge to reinforce a socio-political message. First the VOC, then the free burghers, followed by the

³⁵ Murray, Shepherd and Hall, *Desire Lines*, 145.

³⁶ Ibid., 169.

³⁷ Ibid., 170.

³⁸ Ibid., 10.

British Imperialists, then the South African Unionists and the Apartheid Nationalists, all used traditional Cape Dutch architecture as a powerful tool to further their political aims.

To fully understand the 20th century's relationship with the Cape Dutch architectural idiom, one should first understand the reasons for, and meaning of, the original invention. However, a detailed examination of three centuries of colonial architecture at the Cape is beyond the scope of this study. Chapter Two is presented as a prologue that briefly examines the trope of Cape Dutch architecture. An emphasis on the meanings and significances of the iconic Cape gable is useful in contextualising the later research. Chapter Three provides a theoretical framework for this research; important thoughts, theories and philosophies around heritage, identity and memory. The review will examine the development of 19th - European conservation theory and practice and how these ideas and theories underpinned the international charters of the following century. Nora's work will be discussed in relation to the formation of memory, identity and heritage. His theory links these philosophical terms to the tangible built environment in regard to the establishment of museums, re-construction of heritage and the memorialisation of the built environment.

Chapter Four examines the development of 'to-best' conservation philosophy in the first half of the 20th century within the context of British imperial and unionist associations. The political appropriations and significant conservations of old Cape architecture are used as a mirror of their time. The chapter examines how a culture of conservation and appreciation of the Cape's built heritage developed after Cecil John Rhodes and later Sir Herbert Baker inspired the Cape Revival. Running counter to this was the development of Afrikaner nationalism, generally anti-imperial and looking forward to a new and modern built-identity. Chapter Five examines the continued predominance of the 'to best' conservation philosophy in a Nationalist South Africa, focusing on these developments from mid-century, after the National Party came into power. The chapter identifies how nationalism was extended from an exclusively Afrikaner identity to that of a South African 'white' identity which was tangibly expressed in the built environment, usually manifesting in restorations of reconstructed gabled Cape Dutch architecture.

Chapter Six briefly examines the architectural history of Tulbagh from its establishment in 1700, its subsequent development into a VOC church settlement and pre-industrial village, to its appearance as first a Victorian village and then a modern town. The restorations of Tulbagh's key monument buildings in the first half of the 20th century by Meiring Beck and Mary Cook will be examined to reveal the extent of the significant monuments that still existed in the Tulbagh valley at the time of the 1969 earthquake. Chapter Seven examines in detail the 'Fagan' restoration, providing a 'day-by-day' account of the first

months after the earthquake to demonstrate how the situation unfolded, how the proponents came together and how their motivations for the conservation manifested in the cultural decisions that they made.

Chapter Eight consists of a discussion of the findings that emerged from the research in relation to the motivations of the proponents for the stylistic reconstruction of Tulbagh back to its perceived Cape Dutch 'best' period. Chapter Nine concludes these findings in relation to the literature and theory covered in the preceding chapters. Chapter Ten, the epilogue, follows up on significant Tulbagh buildings and hamlets that were lost and officially forgotten after the earthquake.



Fig.4. The shattered remains of Thibault's badge amidst the ruins of the portico of the old Drostdy of Tulbagh (from Fagan archive).

CHAPTER TWO: PROLOGUE

THE TROPE OF CAPE DUTCH ARCHITECTURE AND THE ICONIC CAPE GABLE (1750 – 1890)

The historic trope of South African architecture is the well-known ‘Cape Dutch’ style, recognisable for strong references to Dutch metropolitan forms, with whitewashed gables and traditionally laid out in H-, T-, or L-shaped plans. From the early 1900s, this Cape Dutch style gained international attention and recognition by scholars of architecture in the metropolitan world as the only merit-worthy historical building type in Southern Africa. It was Ruskin who said, ‘*The only significant contribution to domestic architecture in the last two hundred years had been made by the Dutch at the Cape*’.³⁹



Fig.5. Montpellier in Tulbagh was granted in 1714, the H-shape manor house built around 1790-1800 and its gable was substantially repaired and altered after the earthquake (from www.montpellier.co.za).

Cape Dutch came to signify more than just the period of Dutch rule at the Cape (1652 to 1806), and was the basis for Rhodes and Baker’s stylistic Cape revivals from the late 19th century and well into the Union of South Africa. Later under apartheid, the style was considered the most authentic form of South African architectural heritage and in this way the recovery of Cape Dutch architecture became synonymous with conservation practice, as well as both Unionist and Nationalist Afrikaner history, identity and ideology.⁴⁰ With this vast significance in mind, it seems appropriate to overview the VOC period when gables were

³⁹ Simon van der Stel Foundation Bulletin 24 (October 1971), 28.

⁴⁰ Murray, Shepherd and Hall, *Desire Lines*, 3.

introduced into their architecture and the colonial free farmers (the free burghers) who developed the style.⁴¹

The free burghers were kept on a very tight rope by the VOC who demanded absolute obedience to the VOC's hierarchical and social order.⁴² In her insightful book, *They Came To Stay*, Yvonne Brink maintains that the solid thick-walled Cape country manor house with its towering gables proclaimed its free burgher owner a member of the landed elite, instead of a mere humble and obedient servant of the hated VOC.⁴³ The grand symmetrical buildings offered a silent resistance to begging from and pandering to the whims of the VOC. The developing Cape Dutch style demonstrated solid evidence of the owner's ability to create and maintain order without VOC interventions.⁴⁴

The owner of a Cape country house almost thrust his house on all who passed that way so that passers-by could not be left in doubt as to the kind of person he was. Most impressively, it was the addition of a front gable that lifted the little vernacular peasant house out of hiding, turning a cottage into a house or a house into a mansion. In the same way that the gable raised the dwelling to a more noble status, the owner was raised along with it.⁴⁵

By 1780, there were an estimated, (and rapidly rising) 10 000 free burghers at the Cape and during the resulting building boom, many new gabled houses were built, while many older houses were given gables to conform to the Cape Dutch style. It can be deduced that the free burghers and their Cape Dutch architecture represented a direct threat to the established class and social order of the day.⁴⁶ In 1795 when the British arrived at the Cape, the 'Dutch' colonists/Afrikaners found the idea of English cultural supremacy hard to refute. By 1806 the colony could boast of no great economic advances or cultural achievements, apart from the Cape Dutch homesteads.⁴⁷

In 1806, due to the escalation in the Napoleonic Wars, Britain permanently annexed the Cape from the Dutch/Batavian Republic. Although the new English colonial government was tolerant, mostly impartial and made few demands of the free burghers, the latter's 'Dutch' culture was dominated by the British – a

⁴¹ The early VOC governors who built their primary residence in the gabled style were Simon van der Stel at Groot Constantia, Willem Adriaan van der Stel at Vergelegen and Rijk Tulbagh at Tuinhuys.

⁴² Brink, Yvonne. *They Came to Stay: Discovering Meaning in the 18th Century Cape Country Dwelling* (Stellenbosch: African Sun Media and Press, 2008,) 91.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 200.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 106 -107.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 200.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 130.

⁴⁷ Giliomee, Herman. *The Afrikaners – Biography of a People* (Cape Town: Tafelberg Publishers, 2003,) 195.

group with both a strong identity of its own and a powerful sense of national cohesion and purpose.⁴⁸ The free burghers could do little to resist these overwhelming cultural forces and, in this way, the descent of the free burghers and their symbolic gabled Cape Dutch architecture was long, gentle – and classical.⁴⁹

It was thus in this neo-classical style, in the same year of 1806, that the VOC's architect Louise Michel Thibault (1750 – 1815), completed the Drostdy of Tulbagh, a sophisticated expression of the balance between Cape Dutch and classical design elements. The fashionable style was incorporated into many Cape Dutch houses in the form of neo-classical gables with straight lines in elegant, restrained and dignified designs. In many cases this new style blended with the existent Hol-Bol (concave-convex) gable profile of the day, producing exotic hybrid gables with sophisticated and elaborate designs. Many home-owners of the day seized the opportunity to remodel and update their Rococo gables with a decorative 'temple' structure created by the addition of a triangular pediment, held up by pilasters and, often, featuring decorative urns.⁵⁰

After 1822, a British Anglicisation strategy ensured that English nationalism became the dominant ideology in urban life across much of South Africa. This was expressed in the English language and reinforced by its symbols of dress, emblems, architecture, food and polite conventions. (It has been argued that this English nationalism was the 'prime' nationalism to which both Afrikaner and Black Nationalism reacted almost a century later.⁵¹) After the end of Napoleonic Wars, however, long periods of economic stagnation were compounded by the emancipation of slaves in 1834, which resulted in disillusioned and impoverished free burghers pulling up their roots in search of new lands and freedom from British domination. The resulting Great Trek in 1838 can be understood as an attempt by the farmers to create a new identity, that of the 'boer'. The farmers who remained 'came to terms' with British rule and English cultural domination. 'The Cape Afrikaners valued the freedoms that they enjoyed under the British crown and had no desire to free themselves from a colonial yoke that sat lightly on them.'⁵² It was in this way through a process of cultural assimilation that the Cape gables began to lose their significance and meaning so that ever fewer gabled houses were eventually built.^{53 54}

⁴⁸ Ibid., 194.

⁴⁹ Brook-Simons, Philipa .A *Concise Guide to Cape Dutch Houses* (Cape Town: Struik, 1987,) 13.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ Giliomee, *The Afrikaners*, 194.

⁵² Ibid., 225.

⁵³ Goldblatt, David, Margaret Courtney-Clarke, and John Kench, *Cape Dutch Homesteads* (Cape Town: Struik,) 1984, 19-20.

⁵⁴ Brink, *They Came to Stay*, 200 – 201.

The demise of traditional Cape architecture was further hastened by the onset of the industrial revolution and new technologies, which were 'introduced' to the world in 1851, when Britain hosted the Great Exhibition at the Crystal Palace in London. This event heralded the beginning of a new age and a rapid advancement in building technologies and materials, which manifested in new popular styles and aesthetic preferences, pre-empting the rapid decline of traditional building styles around the world. In this context the thatched and gabled Cape Dutch building style fell from favour. Although Cape Dutch-styled houses continued to be built in the Boland as late as 1880, the symbolic significance of the gable declined.⁵⁵



Fig.6. Boschendal in Franschhoek has an elaborate neo-classical gable with urns. The werf complex and manor house were restored by the Fagans in the 1970s (from www.boschendal.co.za).

⁵⁵ Fransen, *Old Towns*, 29-30.

CHAPTER 3

THE DEVELOPMENT OF RECONSTRUCTIVE RESTORATION, ITS INTERNATIONAL APPLICATION AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The development of modern best practice conservation and the polarised ideas, on which this theory is based, evolved from the European exponents of the day. They had very different ideas from each other on what architectural conservation should entail and the methods that should be employed to achieve this. On the one hand, these ideas manifest in the full scale stylistic restorations of Viollet-le-Duc, and on the other extreme, with the anti-restoration movement of Ruskin (as epitomized by Morris and the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings) which proposed minimal intervention. A middle ground between these two extremes was proposed by Boito, who introduced the idea of a building as being a 'historic document' of which all layering should be maintained. It is these ideas that would go forward into the 20th century and manifest in the early and later UNESCO international conservation charters.

Reconstructions of lost buildings and *reconstructive restorations* of substantially altered, but existing, buildings are considered to be among the most problematic in the range of conservation treatments available to the curators of historic sites. While the best reconstructions evoke a strong sense of the past; the worst evoke a sense of an imagined past that never was! In many instances, it proves challenging to discern the true relationship between the direct historical evidence and the appearance of the reconstruction. Indeed, all reconstructions claim to represent the past whether they are accurately reproduced or not. Reconstructed buildings aim to provide a tangible three-dimensional environment in which visitors can acquire a heightened sense of the past; however this is true only when the structure is rebuilt with a minimum of conjecture. Does a reconstruction reflect the past or does it merely reflect the aesthetic wishes and biases of the reconstructors? Does the reconstruction look like it did historically or does it look the way its proponents wished it had looked at its 'best', during its 'golden age'?⁵⁶ International research shows that in virtually every case examined, the reconstruction was based on an idealised homogenous form from an earlier period, usually regarded as the 'golden age' of the nation and often referred to as the 'best period'.^{57 58} The philosophy of restoration to 'best period' would come to

⁵⁶ Jameson, John, ed., *The Reconstructed Past- Reconstructions in the Public Interpretation of Archaeology and History* (New York: Rowman and Littlefield publishers, 2004,) i-ii.

⁵⁷ Mager, *Architecture Re Performed*, 26.

⁵⁸ Bartetzky in Mager, *Architecture Re Performed*, 25.

dominate South African conservation in the 20th century and therefore its development, the motivations behind it and the widespread application of this prominent style will be more fully explored.

The act of reconstruction and the determination of when the 'best' period was and how it should manifest, depends entirely on the values, identities, premises and aspirations of the participating conservers, as well as the ideological perspectives and political motives of the sponsoring organisations, acknowledged or otherwise. Although education is often touted as the main reason behind reconstructions, the true driving force seems ultimately political, social or economic (tourism). Whatever story is chosen for the telling is likely to be crafted specifically to satisfy the needs of a hidden agenda; achieved by emphasizing a particular point of view or interpretation of events, rather than by attending to an altruistic notion of impartially representing the past.⁵⁹

Development of 'To-Best' and other restoration theories

The 1800s was an age of Romanticism, which manifested in architectural eclecticism and the Gothic Revival, while historicism supported the treatment of old buildings. The century witnessed the wilful restoration, spurious reconstructions and artistic remodelling of cathedrals, castles and monuments throughout England and Europe. These exercises focused on the purification and unification of what was considered at the time to be their 'best' stylistic features. In the heyday of the re-establishment of Gothic architecture, countless historical buildings were altered to accord with 19th century ideas of medieval architecture but which were essentially lacking profound knowledge and detailed research.^{60 61}

Fuelled by a sensed alienation caused by industrialisation and urbanisation, the romantic appreciation of historic monuments was given new vigour through the development of modern science and technology, as well as positivism in philosophy.⁶² In an increasing number of European countries, important historic buildings were perceived as national monuments and were restored to their best, most appropriate styles

⁵⁹ Jameson, *Reconstructed Past*, 276.

⁶⁰ Mager, *Architecture Re Performed*, 4.

⁶¹ Mager, *Architecture Re Performed*, 3. One of the earliest examples of the 'novel' interest of the architectural past – a practice examination that would soon be named 'restoration', is Salisbury Cathedral in England. This 13th -century building was restored to its 'primitive simplicity and beauty' by James Wyatt (1746 – 1813) between 1789 and 1792, whereby additions over time, considered as 'defects' were removed. The objective was to obtain purified buildings that represented pure gothic architecture and get rid of the disruptive elements of later times, such as Baroque altars, perpendicular chapels or the freestanding bell tower. This restoration was later criticised, by John Milner (John Milner was a later Vicar Apostolic of the Midland District), who expressed his regret about the restoration and loss of 'monuments of antiquity' He criticised the stylistic 'corrections' and condemned the creation of a merely contemporary idea about the past.

⁶² Positivism is a philosophical theory stating that knowledge is based on natural phenomena, their properties and relations. Thus, information derived from sensory experience, interpreted through reason and logic, forms the exclusive source of all authoritative knowledge.

as an illustration of the achievements of the nation.⁶³ The era experienced waves of historically accurate reconstruction projects, which in many cases were closely associated with political attempts to glorify the past for present-day purposes. The reconstruction of monuments is heavily loaded with symbolism and has played a significant role in the processes of nation-building as well as reawakening and redefining national identities.⁶⁴

This approach was established in the works of Eugène Viollet-le-Duc (1814- 1879), France's leading Gothic Revival architect around 1850.^{65 66} Many of Viollet-le-Duc's ideas and restoration philosophies would go on to influence conservation practice throughout Europe and on other continents, practically becoming a symbol of the restoration movement.⁶⁷ Significantly to this research, Viollet-le-Duc's writings interestingly bear a striking similarity to those philosophies that dominated the South African conservation scene before 1990.⁶⁸ Viollet-le-Duc laid out his conservation philosophies 'Restoration-to-Best' in his seminal text, the *Dictionary of French Architecture* (1854), where he argued that the restoration of a building meant its return to a state of historical stylistic consistency even if that form had never actually existed. This implies reconstruction through a process of 'design-by-analogy'.

Restoration means to re-establish a building in a finished state, which may in fact never have actually existed at any given time.⁶⁹ This does not mean that he replaced what has never existed, but that a railing changed in the 14th century, chapel decorations that had faded away by the 16th century and stained glass and statues destroyed in the 18th century, would all be restored to their original state, although they had never all co-existed. In this way 'restoration-to-best' can be understood and being more than just preserving or restoring a building, but rather to bring it back to its original state with all possible elements.⁷⁰

This principle specifically differentiates Viollet-le-Duc's work from that of Wyatt's Salisbury Cathedral 70 years earlier, which had been restored to a one-time period (Gothic) only as opposed to the best of all

⁶³ Jokilehto, *History of Conservation*, 137-140.

⁶⁴ Mager, *Architecture Re Performed*, 31.

⁶⁵ Jokilehto, *History of Conservation*, 154. In France in 1846 self-taught French architect, Eugene Viollet-le-Duc's (1814-1879) was offered the official job of Chief of the Office of Historic Monuments and he initiated what would become the large scale restorations of the ruins of the medieval fortified town of Carcassonne and Pierrefonds castle Picture www.reddit.com Both these historical/stylistic conservations aimed to reconstruct an idealised French medieval style. Viollet-le-Duc's approach should be considered within the contexts of the French nationalism of the day in which the French Historic Monuments Commission actively pursued conservation to facilitate the construction of a unified national identity (Choay, 2001:98-100).

⁶⁶ Mager, *Architecture Re Performed*, 4.

⁶⁷ Jokilehto, *History of Conservation*, 141.

⁶⁸ Darke, "Afrikaner Nationalism", and Buttgens, "Castle of Good Hope".

⁶⁹ Jokilehto, *History of Conservation*, 155.

⁷⁰ Reiff, D.D., 1971. "Viollet-le-Duc and historical restoration: The west portals of Notre-Dame." *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* (1971), 27.

time periods, as Viollet-le-Duc maintained. A further point of difference between the philosophies of these men was that Viollet-le-Duc stated that meticulous research of all aspects of the building is vital prior to restoration commencing, which was not always the case with earlier British conservations. Viollet-le-Duc proposed that all aspects of the building be thoroughly documented and analysed in terms of their age, character and construction, in order to ensure that each restoration is undertaken in such a way as to ensure that architectural unity is obtained as an end result.⁷¹ 'In restoration, any missing parts must be replaced by reproducing exactly the forms of the edifices which have suffered decay. By this he means that the replication must utilise the 'same kind of material' and methods as originally used by the craftsmen.⁷² Viollet-le-Duc proposed that, apart from the historical and technological aspects of restoration, "the architect must take on the role of 'artist', place himself in the position of the original architect and ensure that he reconciles the stylistic whole of the edifice or building".⁷³ Viollet-le-Duc's reconstructions would in time come to be criticised by some for the 'brutality of his interventions' in his overarching aim of 'reconstituting a type', which returned to the restored object its historical values, but not its historicity or authenticity.⁷⁴

It was again in England where the counter philosophy of 'anti-restoration', arose in protest against the 'conjectural restoration' of historic buildings. The 'piercing eye and biting pen' of John Ruskin (1819-1900) both detected and denounced any sort of restoration. Although these English theories seem not to have been applied in 20th century South African conservation, they would, significantly, come to define the anti-restoration movement, laying the foundations of modern conservation theory and eventual UNESCO charters. Ruskin would go on with William Morris (1834 – 1896), to establish the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings (1877). The society's manifesto, strongly condemned 'modern restoration as arbitrary', stating that: 'ancient buildings should be regarded as a whole, with their historic alterations and additions, and should be conserved materially and handed down, instructive and venerable to those that come after us'.⁷⁵ The society endeavoured to join powers against 'conjectural restoration', and to encourage maintenance and conservation over restoration and reconstruction as any attempt to restore or copy would only result in the loss of authenticity and the creation of a fake.⁷⁶ Ruskin and Morris's view point is clearly counter to that of Viollet-le-Duc's 'To-Best' philosophies and

⁷¹ Price, N.M, M Kirby-Talley Jr., and A Vaccaro, ed. *Historical and philosophical issues in the conservation of cultural heritage* (Los Angeles: Getty Trust Publications, 1996), 314.

⁷² Reiff, Viollet-le-Duc, 28.

⁷³ Hearn, M.F., ed., *The architectural history of Viollet-le-Duc: Readings and commentary* (Boston: Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1990), 277.

⁷⁴ Choay, *Historic Monument*, 105.

⁷⁵ Jokilehto, *History of Conservation*, 185.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 185.

argued that it was impossible for a restorer to identify with, and put oneself in the position of the original architect, dismissing the ‘insanity of reconstruction or copy.’⁷⁷

These English anti-restoration philosophies of Ruskin and Morris, along with the restoration ideas of Italian Camillo Boito (1836-1914), would go on in the 20th century to form the cornerstones of the UNESCO’s architectural conservation charters. When Boito published his *Charter of Restoration* (1883), he introduced the idea of conserving the ‘building as a historical document’ or just ‘document’ philosophy. This ‘building-as-document’ or ‘scientific’ approach was based upon the need to preserve the objects material ‘truth’, and the belief in scientifically grounded knowledge. Boito disapproved of the extreme and conflicting approaches of his contemporaries, finding Ruskin’s to be ‘grossly simplified’ and Violet-Viollet-le-Duc’s ‘risky’. By contrast, Boito strongly advised that the ‘old artistic and picturesque aspect’ of a building or structure should be maintained, however this should not be accomplished by ‘invention’, the filling in of the missing pieces as though being in the position of the original architect. Boito believed ‘the better the restoration work, the more convincing the lie’ and he formulated guidelines which recommended minimal restoration of historic components, with new additions completed in a contemporary style, clearly distinguishable from, but not in too much contrast to the original work.⁷⁸

Considering that architectural monuments from the past are not only valuable for the study of architecture but contribute as essential documents to explain and illustrate all the facets of the history of various peoples throughout the ages, they should, therefore, be scrupulously and religiously respected as documents in which any alteration, however slight, if it appears to be part of the original could be misleading and eventually give rise to erroneous assumptions.⁷⁹

At the turn of the century, Austrian Alois Riegl (1857-1905) provided a systematic analysis of heritage values and concepts relating to modern conservation. Significant to the Tulbagh case study, Riegl distinguished between ‘intentional’ and ‘unintentional’ monuments.⁸⁰

- Intentional monuments were intended as a memorial, are a human product erected for the specific purpose of keeping human deeds and fates ever alive and present in the consciousness of successive generations.

⁷⁷ Ibid., 175.

⁷⁸ Ibid., 202.

⁷⁹ Ibid., 202.

⁸⁰ In Vienna in 1903, Austrian curator and professor of Art history Alois Riegl (1857-1905) publishes *The Modern Cult of Monuments: its Character and Origins*. The principles in this book would in time become the cornerstone of both modern heritage practice and be contained in the UNESCO charters.

- Unintentional monuments consisting of monuments of art and history is a modern concept referring to buildings that were primarily built to satisfy contemporary practice and ideal needs, and that only afterwards have been taken as having historic value according depending on the modern perception.

The ‘birth’ of the modern reconstruction movement and consequent conservation charters

Although old buildings embody history and give us glimpses of the ‘worlds’ of previous generations, like all cultural achievements they are doomed to decay; whether from neglect, war or small incremental changes in the name of fashion.⁸¹ All buildings are continuously pushed around by three irresistible forces – technology, money and fashion. The march of technology is inexorable and accelerating. Form follows money and if people have money to spare they will alter their building, at minimum to solve the current set of frustrations with the structure, at maximum to show off their wealth. Poverty, however, stops change and having outlived its period of being out of fashion, (plus several passing fashions), a building becomes stylistically beyond fashion or historically significant.⁸²

Before the 20th century, when a building outlived its useful life or became to decayed, damaged or destroyed, it would usually be demolished and rebuilt in a contemporary manner. Although many antique and later constructions became subjects of reuse and reconstruction, they don’t show an interest in precise and meticulous reconstruction of the lost buildings.⁸³ In this way the modern reconstruction movement was considered to be born in 1902 after the iconic, 9th century ‘Campanile’ tower on St Mark’s square in Venice collapsed. An immediate decision was made for the accurate reconstruction of the tower based on photographs. For the first time, the precise (and controversial) modern reconstruction of a lost monument was thus initiated. Otto Wagner, the leading Austrian architect of the time, criticised the reconstruction as a ‘desire to falsify the history of architecture’.⁸⁴ From the outset, reconstruction is thus confronted with the allegation of being merely a copy, a forgery or fraud, since it lacks all historical depth and fools spectators by pretending to be ancient and genuine.⁸⁵ It seems ironic then that it would also be in Venice, 63 years later, that the Venice Charter would be drafted to take some of these very issues into

⁸¹ Mager, *Architecture Re Performed*, 2.

⁸² Brand, *How buildings learn*, 9 -10. A building is not primarily a building, it is primarily property, and as such is susceptible to the whims of the market. Fashion is change for its own sake – via constant unbalancing of the status quo. Domestic buildings - homes in particular are the steadiest changers, responding to the family’s ideas and annoyances, growth and prospects. In conservation much leadership has come from the wealthy as they are the ones with the time, money, taste, style, influence, generosity, and a concern for generations of time. Old money likes old things and new money imitates old money.

⁸³ Mager, *Architecture Re Performed*, 16.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 5.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 6. The controversial receive exhibition ‘Images of Reconstruction’ at the Munich architectural museum made a strong case that before the 20th century there were in-fact no examples of the meticulous reconstruction of lost buildings.

account and to attempt to draft a standardised conservation charter that could be universally applicable. This charter has been dominant for much of the 20th century and remains the 'orthodox' restoration approach in most countries today.

The Venice Charter aims: 'to preserve and reveal the aesthetic and historic value' and must be reliant on 'original materials and authentic documents' and which 'must stop at the point where conjecture begins'. It favours the 'superimposed works of different periods' and safeguarding of monuments 'no less as works of art than as historical evidence' and specifically refers to 'respect for original material'.^{86 87} Previous studies by Townsend, Buttgens and Darke, have shown that that the principles contained in this Charter are quite contrary to not only Viollet-le-Duc's earlier philosophy of 'To-Best' restoration, but also counter to the methods and philosophies of the South African conservation profession in the 20th century. It is noteworthy that the Simon Van der Stel Bulletin published the Venice charter in 1966 already, so its existence must have been known to some extent to the South African profession.⁸⁸

Memory and the social fabrication of the heritage environment

An examination of cases of reconstruction reveals that they generally represent important landmarks at significant representative places, many in capital cities around the world and they possess a tremendous power for the building of national identity. Heritage consists of history as a legacy and a testimony of the past and in this way historical architecture helps us to understand and learn about times gone by. It assures us that the past was real and determines the appearance of the cities and villages we live and work in., Historic architecture is deeply intertwined with the present and its power to shape our image of the past can hardly be underestimated.⁸⁹

Even among UNESCO's world heritage sites, we find full-scale reconstructions of completely destroyed buildings. The historic centre of Warsaw, Mostar's Old Bridge and the Tomb's of the Buganda Kings at Kasubi are replicas of destroyed works of architecture. What does architectural heritage really testify to when even a world heritage site is just a replica? By replication, architecture turns from a source of

⁸⁶ Congress of Architects and Technicians of Historic Monuments (CATHM). *The International Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites* (the Venice Charter 1964). Paris: ICOMOS, 1965. Accessed January 26, 2017. https://www.icomos.org/charters/venice_e.pdf.

⁸⁷ The Venice charter of 1965 was adopted at the Second International Congress of Architects and Technicians of Historic Monuments. This charter was a European-led response to the problems experienced in the aftermath of the Second World War, in particular large scale reconstructions of built environments constructing primarily of hard brick and stone. In 1965, when UNESCO established ICOMOS (International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and the Restoration of Cultural Property), this charter was formally adopted as their conservation principles. The Venice charter is considered to be the fundamental international frame work for preservation and restoration. Although still a member of the U.N at the time, SA was absent from this congress and was not a signatory to the Venice Charter, which in 1972 became the cornerstone of UNESCO's World Heritage Convention,(subsequently signed by 172 courtiers, including South Africa).

⁸⁸ Simon Van der Stel Foundation Bulletin, 13, 87.

⁸⁹ Mager, *Architecture Re Performed*, 10.

history into a result of our knowledge of history and loses its ability to provide a reliable account of the past.⁹⁰

Reconstructions re-stage history from the perspective of those in power today. The politics of reconstruction goes far beyond the aesthetic consideration; taking architecture as a major source of history and regional identity, the impact of large-scale reconstruction is deeply intertwined with political and social factors. Furthermore, memories and associations correlated with the lost buildings of a bygone era are heavily influenced by their reappearance, something that often contradicts historical events. Moreover, architectural reconstruction alters the historical relations of the original building; meaning connotations related to the historic buildings can be replaced or manipulated to significantly impact on society's collective memory.⁹¹ The theories of Nora around memory, history, heritage and ideology will be contextualised later in this chapter.



Fig.7. Central Warsaw after Nazi bombing and then after reconstruction (from homesthetics.net).

Motivations behind cases of heritage reconstruction

It has been claimed that of all the architectural movements to emerge in the 20th century, reconstruction has proved to be the most successful. This controversial statement is, however, backed up in that no other movement can claim comparable persistence along with global validity. The continued significance of reconstruction can hardly be overestimated as we find reconstructions amongst many prestigious current building projects in many important cities around the world. Despite internationally accepted UNESCO conservation charters to the contrary, it would seem that for many nations, reconstruction has become an established way of building and engaging with the past.⁹²

⁹⁰ Ibid., 10.

⁹¹ Ibid., 1.

⁹² Mager, *Architecture Re Performed*, 3.

As a consequence, the Riga Conference and Charter of 2000 was drafted to provide guidance in the reconstruction in nationally important circumstances.⁹³ The charter reiterated the familiar cautionary principles of the earlier charters which had established ‘a presumption against reconstruction of the cultural heritage’, however also noted the importance of ensuring that in exceptional circumstances, when a decision is made to reconstruct, that this reflects consensus among all citizens at all levels. Exceptional circumstances being defined as disasters, whether of natural or human origin.⁹⁴



Fig. 8. Reconstructed Palace of the Grand Duke of Lithuania (skyscrapercity.com/showthread.php?p=84784162).

Stylistic and historicist reconstructions are still today argued by a wide variety of parties to be the most appropriate conservation approach to many situations. Motivations vary, there are: ‘...those who seek to return the building to a particular form for purely artistic or architectural reasons, those who seek to refer to a particular ‘golden age’ in the local or national history, and those who have a particular political or historical axe to grind’.⁹⁵ The examples examined in this research illustrate the motivations behind reconstructions amid a variety of 20th century cases: Moscow’s Cathedral of Christ the Saviours and the Gyeongbok Palace in Seoul are two of many international examples that represent the meticulous reconstruction of bygone architectural works that have been ‘absent’ for decades⁹⁶ (e.g. Berlin City Palace), centuries (e.g. Williamsburg and Fort Louisbourg) or even millennia (e.g. Ancient Nara and Xi’an).⁹⁷ Although many of these international examples involve the full reconstruction of vanished

⁹³ Stovel, “Riga Charter,” 243.

⁹⁴ Ibid., 244.

⁹⁵ Townsend, “Development Rights”.

⁹⁶ Mager, *Architecture Re Performed*, 1.

⁹⁷ The Cathedral of Christ the Saviour was consecrated in 1883, destroyed by dynamite under Stalin in 1931, replaced by an open air swimming pool, and eventually reconstructed between 1994 and 2000. The construction of the Berlin City Palace started in the 15th century, was altered several times, ruined in the Second World War and demolished by the communists in 1950. The palace of the Republic, the seat of the East German parliament was built on the site, which in turn was demolished in 2008 to clear the site for the reconstruction of the Berlin City Palace from 2013. Gyeongbok Palace was

buildings as opposed to reconstructive restoration, they provide insight into the motivations behind reconstruction in general.⁹⁸



Fig.9. Berlin City Palace, as bearer of ancient German culture and unified national identity is currently and controversially being reconstructed. (<http://www.dw.com/en/under-construction-berlins-city-palace/av-18642229>).

The reconstruction of destroyed buildings, of symbolic buildings, as well as the ‘reconstructive restoration’ of substantially altered edifices has been seen as important to nation-building and national self assertion. Although this nationalist element has never been the only reason for tackling schemes of this nature, it has frequently been the driving force behind them, especially in newly-emerged nation states and after or during fundamental political changes or turmoil. The celebration of historical architecture has been used as a means to enhance national identity and sometimes to legitimise state sovereignty and territorial claims.⁹⁹

completed in 1395, destroyed in 1592, rebuilt in 1868 and again destroyed under Japanese rule and has been under reconstruction since 1990.

⁹⁸ Mager, *Architecture Re Performed*, 25. The independence of North Eastern Europe after the break-up of the USSR in the early 1990’s gave rise to new forces of nationalism, accompanied by both a search for symbols of lost national identity and equally by a desire to undo the perceived vicissitudes of recent history. The reconstruction of the Palace of the Grand Dukes was a symbol of overcoming Russian hegemony, emphasizing the longevity of the Lithuania state and hence historically justifying its newly regained independence. Consequently it has been promoted as ‘the recovery of a symbol important for National identity and for historical commemoration’ and even ‘the expression of Lithuania’s sovereignty.’

⁹⁹ Mager, *Architecture Re Performed*, 20.



Fig.10. Colonial facades of Williamsburg with costumed interpreters. The town was taken back to its 1790s appearance which necessitated the demolition of over 800 later buildings (from <https://xplormor.com/expeditions/xplor-colonial-america/colonial-williamsburg/>).

In many instances where individual historic buildings or entire cities are destroyed by war or natural phenomena, there is often strong response from the citizens and politicians for full reconstruction 'as it was'/had previously existed.¹⁰⁰ In most cases however, the 'destruction' of cultural heritage occurs rather less dramatically, resulting from the slow and deliberate intentions of its individual owners to change, extend or modernize a property, a street and eventually a town.¹⁰¹ This is the case in Williamsburg, USA, Louisbourg and Place Royal in Canada. These latter two Canadian examples are of particular interest to this study as they were also both 1960s interventions in a post-colonial county inhabited by with colonial settler populations who had threatened or uncertain identities and who after WWII experienced nationalism in a search for identity.

Throughout this time large-scale reconstructions of other European towns and cities continued as nationalism and pride persuaded people to reclaim their identity and historic built heritage forms from the ashes. Much of Dresden and other historic German cities have been largely reconstructed to their previous appearance for the same socio-political reasons.

¹⁰⁰ Stovel, Herb, "The Riga Charter on Authenticity and Cultural Reconstruction in Relationship to Cultural Heritage," *Conservation and Management of archaeological sites* 4 (2001):241.

¹⁰¹ Brand, *How buildings learn*, 3-5.

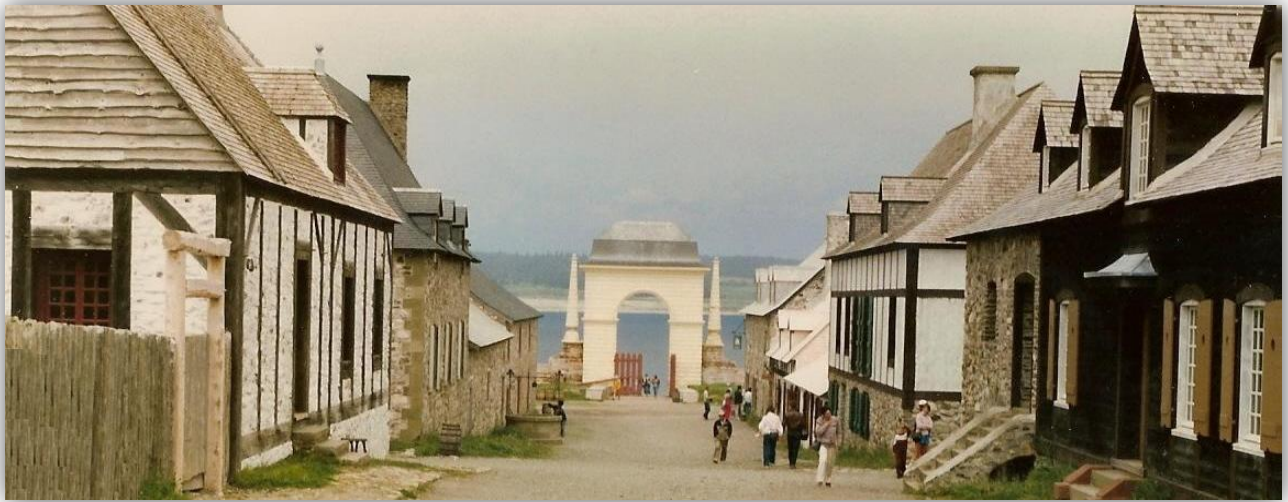


Fig.11. View of the reconstructed façade of Louisbourg's main road in Nova Scotia, Canada. The project was motivated by Canadian nationalism in the 1960s, (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fortress_of_Louisbourg).



Fig.12. The 1960s reconstructive restoration of the Palace Royal, Quebec City, Canada was part of the post-war Canadian nationalist movement to reassert the 'traditional French' character and political sovereignty of Quebec province. (<http://www.twirltheglobe>).

Pierre Nora - Between memory and history ¹⁰²

The final theoretical insight that defines the conceptual framework used in this research is that of the construction of 'memory', as expressed by contemporary French publisher and historian Pierre Nora. Nora's theories link the built form to heritage via memory and identity, as well as differentiating between memory and history, officially remembering and collectively forgetting as essential parts of modern nation-building. This research draws on Nora's theories to suggest similarities between 20th-century French and Afrikaner nationalism in terms of the intentional construction of an idealised cultural heritage and the deliberate ideological manipulation and memorialisation of the built environment.

Of particular relevance are Nora's '*realms of memories*', and his premise that spaces and places are able to transmit cultural heritage.¹⁰³ He maintains that there is a constant state of tension between memory and history with memory being 'affective', open to 'censorship and projection' and history, an 'intellectual production', which demands critical analysis.

...if history did not besiege memory, reforming and transforming it, penetrating and petrifying it, there would be no 'lieux de memoire'. Indeed, it is this very push and pull that produces 'lieux de memoire' - moments of history torn away from the movement of history, then returned; no longer quite life, not yet death, like shells on the shore when the sea of living memory has receded.¹⁰⁴

Nora expanded on Riegl's earlier position saying that history, and thus heritage, is in effect a cultural and social construct created through the actions of groups and institutions. Due to heritage being located between collective and individual conceptions of history, it is also a social, cultural and political construct, which by its very nature, may be manipulated by those in power.¹⁰⁵ Nora also maintains that the role of the state is critical in terms of a constructed history derived from selected memories. Such memories are orchestrated to support the ideological and mythological constructs of the state essential for nation-building.¹⁰⁶ He argues that France, which previously had multiple past memories, has evolved to only

¹⁰² Nora, Pierre, "Between memory and history: Les Lieux de Memoire," *Representations* 26 (1989):7-24. Nora (b 1931) wrote extensively on the concept of memory, specifically in relation to French national identity. In his book, *Realms of Memory: The Construction of the French Past* Volume 3, Nora explores the notion of national memory versus national history. He described 'lieux de memoire' (realms of memory), to be, 'an unconscious organisation of 'collective memory' reflecting national, ethnic or group commonalities.

¹⁰³ Murray, Shepherd and Hall, *Desire Lines*, 44.

¹⁰⁴ Nora, "Between Memory and History," 12.

¹⁰⁵ Shepherd, Nick and Steven Robins, ed. *New South African keywords* (Johannesburg: Jacana Media, 2008,) 117.

¹⁰⁶ Nora, Pierre, ed., *Rethinking France: Les Lieux de Memoire*, (vol 1: the State) (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001.) To illustrate the clear link between the nation-state and the official history as presented by the structures of power, Nora uses the example that prior to the mid-20th century, French history was written as the 'history of the state' as various forms of 'struggles for power' and of men of political stature. This was a political history which had been orchestrated by the Third

have a single collective national memory. Nora's insights invite a parallel analysis of South African national history and the construction of national memory in the pre- to post-apartheid periods.¹⁰⁷

Museums - between memory and history

Many of the museums of the Cape are housed in substantially reconstructed historical buildings.. Most were transformed by the same group of architects to appear as they did during their 'golden age'. In addition to these official museums, the restorations in Tulbagh after the earthquake of 1969 effectively turned Church Street into an open air museum.¹⁰⁸ Within the precinct, however, four official museum buildings together comprise the Tulbagh Oudekerk Volks Museum. Nora's theories are useful here for differentiating between 'memory' and 'historical memory' in terms of the memorialisation and renegotiating of national identities in museum spaces.

Historical memory, as representation, comes down to us through written records, photographic evidence, cinematic narrations, the cityscape and material artefacts. It is a 'petrified memory', no longer steeped in present experience. Memory on the other hand is alive and actual; there is no need to write it down, or preserve it for posterity, for it is of the present moment, shared in a group and passed on by word of mouth. Commemorative celebrations enacted in public spaces, and memory traces stored in archives act as prompts to individual memory. Even though the historical past may not have been experienced, these celebrative events and traces of the past help to keep the past alive and meaningful in the present. Shared in public and socially exchanged, collective memory gives rise to an ongoing process of reinterpretation, preservation and transformation.¹⁰⁹ Memories are regarded as true memories in that

French Republic after 1880 and was then disseminated via the school and university structures with the effect of the creation of a common national identity and 'consciousness'.

In his paper Representations, Number 26, Memory and Counter – Memory, Nora further unpacks his theories of 'between memory and history'. This paper describes how a post-industrialised lifestyle has brought about the end of traditional customs. The tradition of memory has also been replaced by an 'authorised' history, written by those in charge and devoured by a memory hungry population as substitute of lost and forgotten custom and tradition. History transforms memory and for the complete conservation of the present and preservation of the past. Nora further claims that memory now only exists in the form of reconstituted heritage objects and describes how the materialisation of memory has been tremendously dilated, mutilated, decentralised and democratised.

¹⁰⁷ Hummel, H.C., "The relationship between culture, conservation and ideology." In *The Conservation of Culture: Changing Context and Challenges* by Ingrid Coetzee and Gerhard-Mark Van der Walt, ed. Proceedings of the South African Conference on the Conservation of Culture, Cape Town (6-10 June 1988). https://books.google.co.za/books/about/Conservation_of_Culture.html?id=g61BAAAAAYAAJ&redir_esc=y

¹⁰⁸ The Argus reported on the 24 October 1970, 'Visiting expert on Tulbagh jewel' Church Street in Tulbagh was a 'jewel' and should be restored as a living monument of the time in which it was built. Dr. Jozef Weyns director of the famous Flemish Open Air Museum in Belgium. Was also a member of the Belgian National Monuments Council. In relation to the Church Street restoration, Dr Weyns said that open-air museums were both meaningful and fun to people of all social levels and all ages. A similar museum in South African, he felt, would be a great success. He expressed shock that the Tulbagh Neo-Gothic Church was to be demolished, commenting, 'in Belgium this would not be allowed'.

¹⁰⁹ Crysler, Greg, Stephen Carins, and Hilde Heynen, ed., *The SAGE Handbook of Architectural Theory* (London: SAGE Publications, 2012,) 328.

they are not inventions or fantasies. Whether the memories accurately represent past events or not, however, is irrelevant, the process of construction of the meanings of those events is the focus of memory work. In the formation of national identity, the acts of remembering and forgetting depend on each other, shared remembering and shared forgetting. With the rise of the nation state, certain memories are mobilised while alternatives are re-presented and regional differences assimilated.¹¹⁰

Museum space may be regarded as a synecdoche for this process of new memory work, where competing histories are brought together and rewritten. Museums are not only sites of memorialisation, but also instruments for the invention of new political identities. In this way they also reveal some of the themes, metaphors and false presumptions, errors and mythologizing that have been scripted into the narrative.¹¹¹ Museums are not neutral retrievals and collections of stored information about a dead past, they are organisations of remembering and forgetting. As rhetoric, they make certain claims about the past in order to construct new memories for the future.¹¹² In this transmission, distortion and incompleteness is unavoidable. Every act of remembering includes one of forgetting. Whenever history becomes memory and is institutionalised (as Church Street was as National Monument), certain choices are made, certain forgetting sanctioned, certain memory disallowed. Institutional memory is invariably partial memory, a formalised agreement between past and present. Extending this idea, group identity is always supported by selective remembering and forgetting. National identity and a nation's heritage are invented through common memory and common tradition - a careful filtering of historical events into an official narrative as a homogenising legacy of values and experiences.

This chapter has explored the ideas on which modern architectural conservation and heritage resource management is based to show how these philosophies developed from the writings of various 19th-century historians and architects, in an attempt to preserve within ancient buildings, their widely ranging concept of authenticity. Nora's 20th-century theories around identity, heritage and nation-building will be used in the next chapters to contextualise the manifestation of a 'white' South African identity in the built environment and in Cape Dutch architecture in particular.

¹¹⁰ Murray, *Desire Lines*, 93-99.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, 85.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, 94.

CHAPTER 4

DEVELOPMENT OF 'TO-BEST' CONSERVATION PHILOSOPHY IN COLONIAL AND UNION SOUTH AFRICA (1892 to 1948/51)

In a country of clashing nationalisms, a revival of Cape Dutch architecture was initiated in the 1890s after being dormant for a few generations. From this grew a great appreciation for the threatened old buildings of the Cape. The renewed respect for Cape Dutch architecture manifested in a local conservation philosophy of 'to-best' in order to ensure the perceived authenticity of the original 'high' Cape Dutch form. At the time authenticity was understood as the replication of detail and not necessarily in the preservation of 'old' fabric.

Rhodes and Baker initiate the Cape Revival

In Cape Town in 1892, then premier of the Cape, Cecil John Rhodes (1853 – 1902), acquired a Victorianised Groote Schuur, (one of Jan Van Riebeeck's Dutch/VOC sites) and commissioned a young Herbert Baker (1862 – 1946) to reconstruct the house into the obsolete Cape Dutch style. In Baker's biography of Rhodes, Baker noted the transparent political overtones of the project, not only in flattering the Afrikaner elite and their 'heritage' but in attempting to recover the 'lost civilisation' and early material culture of the original settlers.¹¹³ The restoration of Groote Schuur initiated not only the 'Cape Revival' style but also the appreciation, restoration and preservation of many other Cape Dutch homesteads that, in the wake of the phylloxera epidemic, were bought up by Rhodes and the speculators of the day.^{114 115} These grand Dutch-inspired buildings created in the English, as it had the free burghers, the notion of 'landed country gentry' in the colony.

¹¹³ Witz, *Apartheid's Festival*, 22.

¹¹⁴ Ibid., 25-27.

¹¹⁵ Brook-Simons, *Meerlust*, 93. In 1886, the same year as gold was discovered in the Witwatersrand of the newly independent 'boer' South African Republic, Phylloxera struck the Cape vineyards which necessitated the removal and burning of some 22 million vines, virtually every vine at the Cape. The wine industry was devastated along with the economies of many historic farms, their Afrikaans farmers succumbed to hard times, with many eventually went bankrupt.

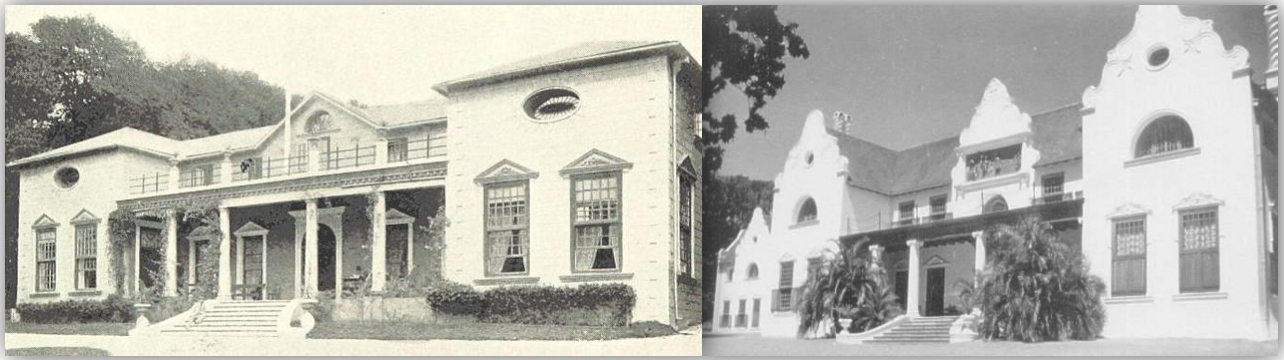


Fig.13. Groote Schuur before and after Rhodes pioneering remodelling of the house (before from Stuart Cumberland, *What I think of South Africa; its people and its politics*, 52. (Original held and digitised by the British Library- After from Oz Barker www.zandvliettrust.org).

The rise of Afrikaner Nationalism

After the turn of the century, the Anglo-Boer War (1899-1902) ended with a British victory and the annexation of the two Boer republics, leaving many Afrikaners disgruntled, marginalised, resentful and distrustful of the British economic and English cultural domination. It had only been 25 years earlier that the 1875 formation of the Genootskap van Regte Afrikaners' (Association of True Afrikaners) had been established, significantly marking the beginning of the Afrikaner nationalist movement. Their motto – 'to stand for our language, our people and our country' – encapsulates their primary concerns of language, political power and self-determination. Within two years the association had established the first Afrikaans newspaper, *Die Afrikaanse Patriot*, as a means of disseminating their objectives. In 1905 this developed into the establishment of both the Afrikaner Bond/Suid-Afrikaanse Taalbond (South African Language League), a tactical move that effectively linked the national language and national imperatives into a nationalism campaign.¹¹⁶ The development and eventual recognition of Afrikaans as an official language around this time was promoted by the Afrikaner Broederbond as a tool to unify the Afrikaans people and establish common values and culture.¹¹⁷ The 1909 establishment of ATKV (Afrikaanse Taal en Kultuur Vereniging) resulted in the beginning of Afrikaner's music, poetry and art. Most significantly, however, was the 1909 establishment of Die Suid-Afrikaanse Akademie vir Wetenskap en Kuns (The South African academy for science and art) by J.B.M. Hertzog. Although the organisation initially had the promotion of the Dutch/Afrikaans language as its primary aim, it was also concerned with South African history and traditional skills and old art forms, and pertinent to the Tulbagh case study, would go on, in 1959, to establish the Simon van der Stel Foundation (SvdS Foundation) which, from 1969, played a major role in the restoration of Tulbagh.

¹¹⁶Coetzer, *Building Apartheid*, 46.

¹¹⁷Moodie, *Afrikanerdom*, 40-41.

A new appreciation for Cape Dutch heritage at the Cape

At the turn of the century, after Alice Trotter published '*Old Colonial Houses of the Cape of Good Hope*' (1901) based on her pioneering studies of architecture at the Cape, (including Tulbagh) - her work stimulated a gradual interest, as well as local and foreign enthusiasm for these 'majestic houses'.¹¹⁸ Trotter and the first 'heritage activists' (Fairbridge, Lady Phillips, Sir Meiring Beck), were primarily English-speaking and mostly foreign-born, who pioneered research, educating and instilling in the public an appreciation for the protection and conservation of the surviving old Cape buildings. Importantly, out of this concern, in 1905 the 'South African National Society for the Preservation of Natural Beauty and Historic Interest' was founded Sir Henry De Villiers. The aim of the 'National Society' was to protect and promote historical artefacts, which they defined as 'historic Cape architecture, ethnological remains and the Cape flora'. During this time great contributions were made towards the awareness of a Cape architectural heritage and its conservation by the Cape elite, who donated vast sums of money and assets to this cause. Under the chairmanship of Sir Meiring Beck (who, interestingly had moved to Tulbagh,) the National Society's first conservation projects would include the derelict Castle, the establishment of the National Botanical Gardens at Kirstenbosch (1913), the purchase of the Koopmans-De Wet House in Strand Street (1914), the restoration after catastrophic fires of both Groot Constantia (1925) and the Tulbagh Drostdy (1934) and argued for the preservation of the Old Supreme Court/Slave lodge (1950s).¹¹⁹ These significant preservation projects clearly demonstrate the sustained symbolic significance to the Union of South Africa of these grand old buildings.

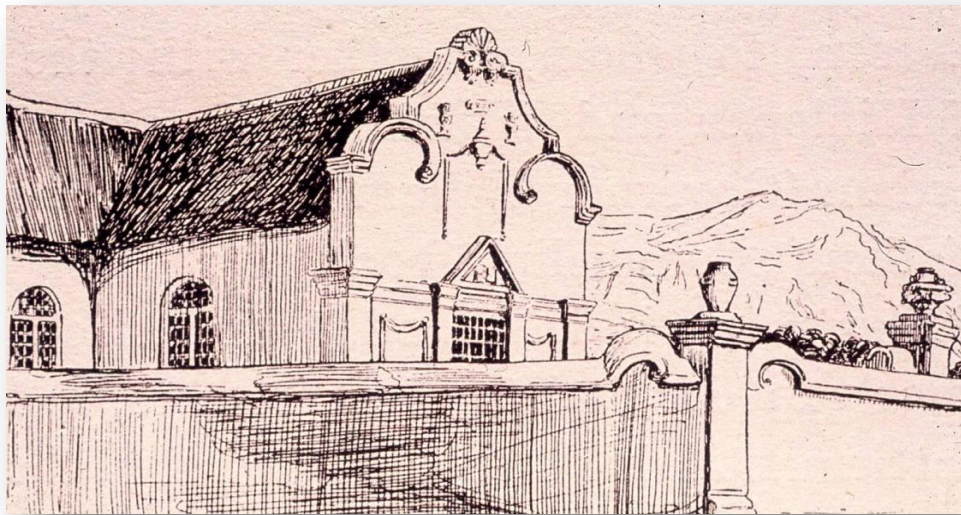


Fig.14. Alice Trotters first drawing of the old Church of Tulbagh around 1900 (slide from Fagan archive).

¹¹⁸ Ibid., 94.

¹¹⁹ Antonia Malan, "Reflections on half a century of vernacular architecture studies at the Cape," *Journal of the Vernacular Architecture Society of South Africa* 11 (2004):17-29.

The Union of South Africa

The 1908 draft constitution of the Union of South Africa was aimed at creating a white-controlled dominion of the British Empire and gave neither voice to black concerns nor included black people in any part in the country's administration. As a consequence, the South African Native Convention, later renamed the African National Congress (ANC) was established in 1909 as a means of protesting against the impending union. This indifference of white South Africans to the majority black population is embodied by Baker's design for the new Union Buildings (1910) in Pretoria. In his notes, Baker ignorantly describes his baroque-inspired plan which featured two symmetrical wings, as representing the bringing together of the 'two races in South Africa, Boer and Brit'.¹²⁰

At the same time, the Closer Union Society was established, with its aim as the promotion of the commonalities required to nurture a nation that was foreseen by the union of the four British colonies. Primarily through its propaganda mouthpiece, 'The State' magazine, the institution promoted Cape Dutch architecture as the embodiment of a common English/Afrikaner identity. In this way 'Cape Dutch buildings, as the decaying remains of a bygone colonial era, were plucked from their 'rural country' values, invigorated and rudely thrust central stage into the limelight of Empire as symbols of the Union of South Africa'.¹²¹ It is worth noting that Lord Meiring Beck, who lived at the Tulbagh Drostdy at the time, was central to the forging of the Union of South Africa and it seemed that he saw himself as bringing together the two white races already spiritually unified through his Drostdy home and its history. Meiring Beck writes in a telling quote entitled 'South African':

There is scarcely a single point in which you will not find striking similarities in the modes of thought and expression between Dutch-descendent and English-descendent South Africans. The problem for those guiding the destinies of the British Commonwealth is not how to banish forever the phantom of a South African nation but how, by fostering the national spirit, to drive into grooves sympathetic to common interests rather than into grooves out of harmony with those interests... In building up South African character, let us cultivate pride in our own history and in the history of our forefathers. Let us accept each other's history as a common heritage.¹²²

¹²⁰ Murray, Shepherd and Hall, *Desire Lines*, 4.

¹²¹ Coetzer, *Building Apartheid*, 25-27.

¹²² *Ibid*, 26.



Fig.15. The old Tulbagh Drostdy as reconstructed after the fire of 1935 (by André Pretorius, <https://digital.lib.sun.ac.za/handle/10019.2/1898?show=full>).

It was through a focus on the Drostdy at Tulbagh that the idea of Cape Dutch homesteads being symbols of the common English/Afrikaner identity really began to be voiced. The second edition of 'The State' carried a poem dedicated to the Tulbagh Drostdy penned by F.C. Kolbe. In the poem The Drostdy, with its stately halls and courtly manners, symbolises the European past at the Cape which demands to be emulated in the present – claiming the common mission of English and Afrikaner alike.¹²³ A poetic analysis of this verse reveals the double meaning of 'courtly manors' in regards to the stately building as well as the dignified behaviour of those who inhabit it.

Relic and emblem of a storied past.
 Thrice happy they whose lines in thee are cast.
 Thy records summon all in thy embrace.
 To emulate the virtues of the race.
 Thy stately halls of courtly manors tell, where only ladies bountiful should dwell.
 Thy solid frame is pledge of future glory,
 And links our doings with our countries' story.

In the accompanying article in *The Nation*, the Tulbagh Drostdy is raised as the literal manifestation of the joining of the Dutch and British administrations in the Cape: 'Whilst it proved to be the last building begun upon Dutch soil in South Africa, it was destined to be the first completed upon the passing of the Cape into the hands of the British'. The article further contends that at least the British had a hand in making one Cape Dutch homestead.¹²⁴ The third edition of *The Nation* deepened the symbolic significance of the Tulbagh Drostdy as unifier of Afrikaans and English.

¹²³ Ibid., 27.

¹²⁴ Ibid., 26.

Original Cape Dutch architecture and its Cape Revival style were at the core of all loyal unionist nation-building cultural initiatives of the time. Merrington explains that: 'These groups were dedicated to what in retrospect may be termed the 'inventing of heritage' for the Union of South Africa ... a means of imagining and propagating a new South African identity within the international context of the British Empire. The homesteads carried a dual symbolism of Cape Dutch history and English landed nobility and this dual symbolism was promoted for the purpose of reconciliation in the aftermath of the South African Boer War'.¹²⁵ An appropriate example is the Tulbagh School; a project instigated by Sir Meiring Beck, and built in 1904 in the gabled Cape Revival style.¹²⁶

This Cape Revival style was used ever more in the run up to the 1910 Union of South Africa and became especially popular afterwards, being used throughout South Africa seemingly as the 'national' style and remained prominent for about 30 years until WWII.¹²⁷ As a consequence of Baker's prominence and influence at the Department of Public Works (DPW), his Revival style in many ways became the official style of the DPW, which resulted in Cape baroque gables on prominent public buildings from schools, town halls to magistrates' courts, railway stations, police stations, government residences and even electricity sub-stations! The Cape Revival style was adopted and adapted by many private architects to build anything from grand villas to suburban bungalows, with typical spurious gables and half-shutters.¹²⁸ The Revival established Cape Dutch as a talisman through which the Union of South Africa could be motivated; these restorations pulled a bygone era to the surface and celebrated a common heritage that had never actually existed.¹²⁹ The popularity and longevity of Cape Revival architecture was demonstrated again in 1936 when Cape artist Robert Gwelo Goodman (1871 - 1939).¹³⁰ was invited to reconstruct the Tongaat Sugar Estate in Natal in this style. The social experiment was understood as a cultural decision carried out in the name of 'common national heritage', which was used as a means of reinforcing popular colonial/national attitudes and values of white South Africans at the time.¹³¹

¹²⁵ Malan, "Reflections".

¹²⁶ Van Zyl, Nathan, Tulbagh, Roodezandt, Het Land Van Waveren: 350 Year Commemorative Book (Cape Town: City Publishers, 2009,) 128.

¹²⁷ Coetzer, *Building Apartheid*, 36-37.

¹²⁸ Merrington, Peter, "Cape Dutch Tongaat: A Case Study in Heritage," *Journal of Southern African Studies* 32 (December 2006,) 689.

¹²⁹ Coetzer, *Building Apartheid*, 24

¹³⁰ Robert Goodman was born in England in 1871 and settled in Cape Town in 1915. Although primarily known as an artist of landscapes and street scenes, Goodman is also known for his restoration of the Newlands House. In the 1920s Goodman illustrated and assisted on the book *Historic Houses of South Africa*, by Dorothea Fairbridge, among others. Between 1916 and 1924 the main focus of his work became Cape Homesteads and old Dutch houses. In 1922 three of these works were exhibited at the Royal Academy in England.

¹³¹ Merrington, *Cape Dutch Tongaat*, 1-2. This began an ongoing tradition in Tongaat, whereby Cape Dutch aesthetics were applied up until the 1960s in a comprehensive manner for the improvement of working and social relations.

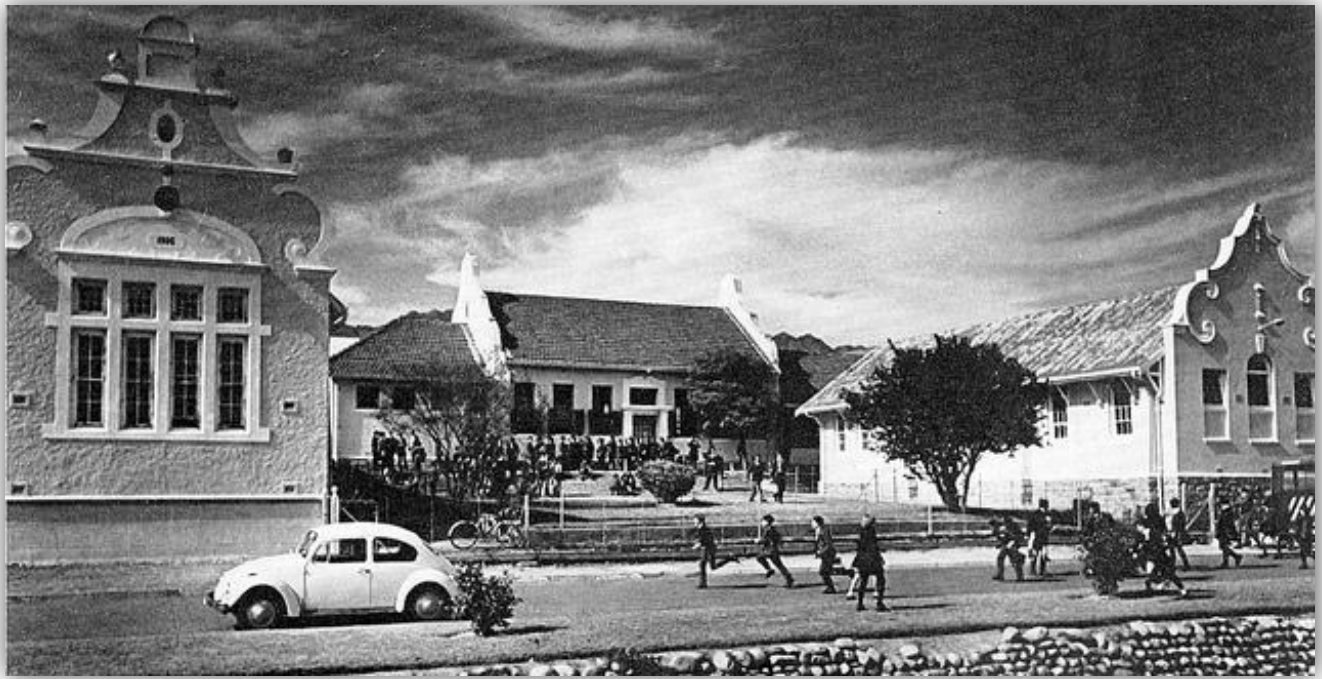


Fig.16. Tulbagh School (for whites only), demolished after the 1969 earthquake due to safety fears of the parents (from <https://www.flickr.com/photos/hilton-t/5413685210>).

After 1910, under the influence of prominent public figures such as Jan Smuts, there was a further rising interest in 'heritage' and its part in the 'national project'. The 1923 establishment of monuments by the Commission of the Preservation of Natural and Historic Monuments, Relics and Antiquities, resulted in the declaration of 'monuments' comprising of pre-historic sites, as well as colonial buildings, battle sites and some natural phenomena. In support of the Commission, the then Minister of Education (A.J. Stals) said: 'We have every reason to believe that the inspiration of our cultural origins will continue to sustain us in our efforts to build a united, happy and God-fearing nation. Subsequently, heritage preservation became a key component of 'Afrikaner cultural rightist nationalism'.^{132 133}

¹³² Murray, Shepherd and Hall, *Desire Lines*, 4.

¹³³ In 1922, Dorethea Fairbridge publishes, *The Historic Houses of South Africa*, an extensive illustrated survey of Cape Dutch houses. The book included a Foreword written by then Prime Minister Jan Smuts, expounded the old houses of the Cape as a common heritage of which all South Africans are proud, and are precious links binding us all together in noble traditions and great memories of our past. 'These historic homes are shrines to the spirit of our forefathers and their faith in the county which is our home.'



Fig.17. The 1920s reconstruction Cape Town's Old Supreme Court in Tongaat (from <https://wiki.uiowa.edu/display/1604724/Tonga+Community+Health+Centre>).

The new Union government would soon pass the Natives Land Act (1913) to counter mass black urbanisation which was seen as the threat to white supremacy. The act effectively 'divided the land' into either native or white areas and dictated ownership and tenancy stipulations which had the effect of largely barring blacks from settling in white areas. The act was met with a mobilization of black resistance in a way that no other issue had yet done.¹³⁴ A year later the National Party (NP) was established as part of the Afrikaners' drive towards self-determination. The Afrikaners made up the majority of the white population of the country and, through the NP's objectives of Afrikaner national unity, hoped to win victory at the polls. The main aim of the party leadership (D.F. Malan and General J.B.M. Hertzog) was to first to secure a majority in parliament and secondly to petition the British government for the 'political emancipation' of South Africa.¹³⁵

Before the end of the decade the Afrikaner nationalist movement would be supported by a number of Afrikaans language publications such as *Die Patriot*, *Die Brandwag*, *Die Afrikaanse Patriot*, *Die Boerevrou* and *Die Huisgenoot*, which addressed both popular and political issues - denouncing imperialism and promoting Afrikaner identity.¹³⁶ Specifically a number of articles about architecture were written between 1920 and 1925 by Gerard Moerdijk (1890 – 1958), an acclaimed local architect, and Jacob Pierneef (1886 – 1957), a prominent artist, which provide insight into the architectural identity promoted by the Afrikaner nationalists. In one essay, 'Ons boerehuise in Transvaal en hulle karakter'

¹³⁴ Giliomee, Herman and Bernard Mbenga, *New History of South Africa* (Cape Town: Tafelberg Publishers, 2007), 233.

¹³⁵ D.J. Kotze, *Nationalism: a comparative study* (Cape Town: Tafelberg, 1981,) 90.

¹³⁶ Andre Van Graan, *Afrikaner nationalism and the search for the cultural identity* (Cape Town: University of Cape Town, 2003,) 8.

(Our farm houses in the Transvaal and their character), Pierneef emphasises the awakening of Afrikaans literature, art and sculpture but laments the lack of a national architectural style. The article rejects the notion of a common national Cape Dutch style and proclaims the need to define an authentic Afrikaans building style. Pierneef argues that the Cape Dutch style is a derivative of the building styles of the first settlers and European master builders and feels that the nation's cultural identity should rather be based on the nation's artistic expression, as manifested in its 'volk character'. He is emphatic in his proclamation that the Cape Dutch style is 'un-Afrikaans'.¹³⁷ Moerdijk goes on in 1923 to discuss die 'Afrikaanse woning' (the Afrikaans house) where he dismisses the influences of foreign architectural styles and highlights a need for an authentic style which addresses the climate, materials and culture of South Africa and the need to 'abandon pre-determined ideas, styles and prejudices. The Cape Dutch style is not ours, no, we look for a pure Afrikaans (style) that will carry the stamp of the volk spirit'.¹³⁸



Fig.18. Pierneef's artistic output demonstrates his leaning toward uncomplicated vernacular architecture. This oil painting from the 1930s, entitled 'Drostdy' is the parsonage of the Mission church in Tulbagh village (demolished in the 1950s)

¹³⁷ Roger Fisher, and Schalk Le Roux, *Die Afrikaanse Woning- reprints from Die Boerevrou* (Hammanskraal: Unibook Publishers, 1989,) 5-6.

¹³⁸ Van Graan, *Afrikaner nationalism*, 8.

Kendal's restoration of Groot Constantia - 'To-Best': motives and philosophy

In 1924, at the Empire Exhibition in London, a near replica of the façade of Groot Constantia was constructed to front the South African pavilion. This choice of design suggests a move to represent South Africa to the rest of the Empire and the world as the realisation of a grand history, with Groot Constantia being represented as the archetypal South African building, emblematic of South Africa's part in the British Empire.^{139 140} It was ironic then, that the following year (1925) Groot Constantia was gutted by fire. The National Society and the Historical Monuments Commission formed a restoration committee under architect F.K. Kendal (1870 – 1948)¹⁴¹ of the celebrated firm Kendal and Morris, previously headed by Baker, which was then formally appointed by the Union government to undertake the restoration of the important house. Kendal argued that Groot Constantia should be restored not to its original, nor to its pre-fire appearance, but rather 'to its best', in his words, 'it's ideal self'.¹⁴²



Fig.19. Iconic Groot Constantia was reconstructed by Kendal after a devastating fire (from <http://traveller24.news24.com/Explore/Groot-Constantia-reinstates-its-place-in-world-class-history-20150405>).

Two years later Groot Constantia was ceremonially opened confirming the 'ideological restoration' of what was being presented as Van der Stel's house. The speeches made no mention of the controversy surrounding the simple gabled building that Van der Stel had actually built and lived in which Kendal had

¹³⁹ Coetzer, *Building Apartheid*, 38.

¹⁴⁰ Darke, "Afrikaner Nationalism", 169.

¹⁴¹ Frank Kendal, (1870 – 1948) South African architect, studied architecture at the University of London (1887–90) and settled in Cape Town as apprentice and later associate of Baker. Kendal was at the time of the Groot Constantia fire, the chairman of the National Society. Kendal, *The Restoration of Groot Constantia*, 5.

¹⁴² Kendal, *Groot Constantia*, 12.

exposed during his archaeological exploration of the fire-ravaged house. This revelation had dispelled the myth that the great man Van der Stel, who was being touted as the ‘father of the nation’, had resided in a grand house which formed the prototype of many manors that followed.¹⁴³ When Kendall published his book on the restoration, he dedicated it to Herbert Baker ‘who awakened an interest in the arts of the old cape settlers and laid the foundation’ of a ‘national architecture in South Africa’ and acknowledged Lady Phillips for her restoration of Vergelegen. It was later put forward by Biermann that, although Kendall’s decision to restore Groot Constantia to ‘its best’ was a ‘subjective decision’, it was indeed a successful restoration and represented the ‘true historical picture of the building’.¹⁴⁴ This statement confirms contemporary support of the stylistic method of Kendall and therefore the approach of the ‘re-constructionist lobbies’ methods thereafter.^{145 146}

The rise of Afrikaner nationalism and a new architectural idiom

In 1931, the Statute of Westminster legislated a greater autonomy for the British dominions which left Hertzog’s National Party free to revise his political strategy and the national symbolic order. The 1930s consequently experienced the rapid rise of Afrikaner nationalism, manifesting in new motifs for the nation such as the wagon wheel and the lager. Other consequences of this autonomy were a new national flag as well as ‘Die Stem’ joining ‘God Save the King’ as official national anthems of the country. Faced by the strength of the nationalist movement in the colonies, the British government set about negotiating the constitutional independence of the Union of South Africa.^{147 148}

Continued British use, in the first half of the 20th century, of traditional Cape Dutch architectural styles resulted in many Afrikaners feeling alienated from their vernacular architecture and looking for a modern

¹⁴³ Coetzer, *Building Apartheid*, 160.

¹⁴⁴ Immelman, *Preservation and Restoration*, 34.

¹⁴⁵ Biermann in Darke, “Afrikaner Nationalism,” 40.

¹⁴⁶ In 1927 the Gable of Groot Constantia appeared on the cover of the menu of the first South African Architects Congress and for many architects; this was when Cape Dutch reached its height as an emblem of national architecture and its use in public building design.

¹⁴⁷ Coetzer, *Building Apartheid*, 89.

¹⁴⁸ Moodie, *Afrikanerdom*, 148. The 1930’s experienced a rapid rise of Afrikaner nationalism, identity and institutions through a cultural campaign to promote the Afrikaans language and the establishment of an Afrikaner Broederbond (Brotherhood). The Broederbond in turn established other cultural institutions such as FAK (Federasie van Afrikaanse Kultuurverenigings), which saw to it that all Afrikaner cultural forms took a decidedly nationalistic turn. The Afrikaner Broederbond worked ceaselessly to promote the exclusive interests of ‘true’ Afrikaners on behalf of the volk/people. Dr. Anton Rupert was himself a member in the 1940’s, however, he gave it up after the Nationalists came into power. Dommissie, 2005. Important ideological building blocks included the promotion of a common language, the emphasis is on what was perceived to be a common past and the unity of a common sense of religion. A complex network of Afrikaner organisations was established and strengthened, from financial institutions like Sanlam and Volkskas, through to youth movements like the Voortrekkers, organisations which bore an Afrikaner imprint came into existence

expression for the nation.¹⁴⁹ The Afrikaner nationalist architects therefore made a conscious effort to pursue an architectural style that was progressive, revolutionary and reflective of the future, not the past, and thus by the end of the 1930s were looking forwards and identifying with a modern aesthetic, reflected by both the International Style and Art Deco.¹⁵⁰ Despite the 1933 publication of Professor G.E. Pearse's *Eighteenth Century Architecture in South Africa*, from this time there was a distinct waning in enthusiasm for the revival style as the South African national style.¹⁵¹ 'In the end, Baker's Cape Dutch Revival style became architecture of division and not mediation. In creating a Dutch connection, he lost the South African (Afrikaner) connection.'¹⁵² By 1941, the full effect of World War II became apparent in South Africa, which effectively ended the production of the Cape Dutch Revival as a contemporary architectural style.¹⁵³

In 1934 however, the Historical Monuments Commission (HMC) was revised and empowered in parliament by the Natural and Historical Monuments, Relics and Antiques Act, which allowed for recommendations to be made to the Minister of Education to proclaim national monuments.¹⁵⁴ From this time, and in the decade that followed, monuments to a great rural Afrikaner past (especially Cape Dutch houses) were the focus of heritage concern.¹⁵⁵ ¹⁵⁶ In this way in 1940 the present Old Church Volksmuseum of Tulbagh was declared an early National Monument.¹⁵⁷

1938 was the centenary of the Great Trek and marked the emergence of a dominant Afrikaner identity symbolised by the reconstruction of their 'monumental journey of nationhood'. On December 16th, which was the centenary of the Battle of Blood River, the festival culminated in 100 000 Afrikaners attending the laying of the foundation stone of the Voortrekker Monument in Pretoria. The festival celebrated the 'virtues of the Afrikaner nation'. An 'imagined' community that actively constructed a heritage to support political ideological objectives.¹⁵⁸ At the heart of the 1938 celebrations lay the perception that Afrikaners were strangers in their own land, victims of British-rooted capitalism and an alien political culture, and

¹⁴⁹ Fransen interview, 2014. An examination of the names of the main contributors to conservation at the Cape is thus largely dominated by English and foreign names and relatively few Afrikaner names

¹⁵⁰ Van Graan, *Afrikaner nationalism*, 9.

¹⁵¹ Coetzer, *Building Apartheid*, 67. After 1935 professional publications like the South African Architectural Record featured ever fewer Revival style designs and even poked fun at Baker by pointing out the uneasiness of a 'National style' based on 'Farm Buildings'. Even the pro-vernacular publication, The South African Architectural Record, which as late as 1934 was still carrying articles about the Cape Dutch style, had by the late 1930s shown an increasing lack of interest in Cape Dutch architecture

¹⁵² Ibid., 68.

¹⁵³ Ibid., 43.

¹⁵⁴ Malan, "Reflections," 19.

¹⁵⁵ Ibid., 19.

¹⁵⁶ Darke, "Afrikaner Nationalism," 52.

¹⁵⁷ Significantly in 1969 the HMC would become the 'all powerful' National Monuments Council (NMC), which in turn would come to play a decisive role in the Tulbagh restoration.

¹⁵⁸ Witz, Leslie, *Apartheid's Festival: Contesting South Africa's national past* (Indiana: Indiana University Press, 2003,) 13.

that the solution lay in unified economic, political and cultural action. Also founded in 1938, the Ossewabrandwag movement was established with its emphasis on a shared cultural heritage, which all Afrikaners supposedly had in common, grew quickly. Important ideological building blocks included the promotion of a common language, the emphasis on what was perceived to be a common past and the unity of a common sense of religion. In this way events and pageantry helped to consolidate Afrikaner cultural dominance over the country.^{159 160}

During World War II there were few notable conservation projects in the Cape. One exception, however, was the 1940s Union Government's reconstruction of the historic Swellendam Drostdy, which had been purchased to establish a museum in the Cape's third oldest town. The Victorianised building was reconstructed back into its idealised 1844 appearance, with a thatch roof in the dormered half-hip style, as well as re-made 'Dutch' period doors and windows.¹⁶¹



Fig.20. Swellendam's Drostdy Museum was 'de-Victorianised' in the 1940s (<http://www.drostdy.com/about-us/the-drostdy-building/>).

¹⁵⁹ Ibid., 11.

¹⁶⁰ During these 'war' years the Afrikaners were not the only group of South Africans searching for identity and political emancipation and thus in 1944 the ANC Youth League was formed. The young leaders of the Youth League - among them Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu and Oliver Tambo - based their ideas on African nationalism. They believed Africans would be freed only by their own efforts and aimed to involve the masses in militant struggles ANC website - history When World War II concluded, South Africa became one of the 51 founding member of the United Nations.

¹⁶¹ Thomas, Beverley, *The Drostdy Museum Guide Book*, Swellendam: Drostdy Museum, 1997.

Eaton's Reinet House - restoration 'To-Best' – motives and philosophy

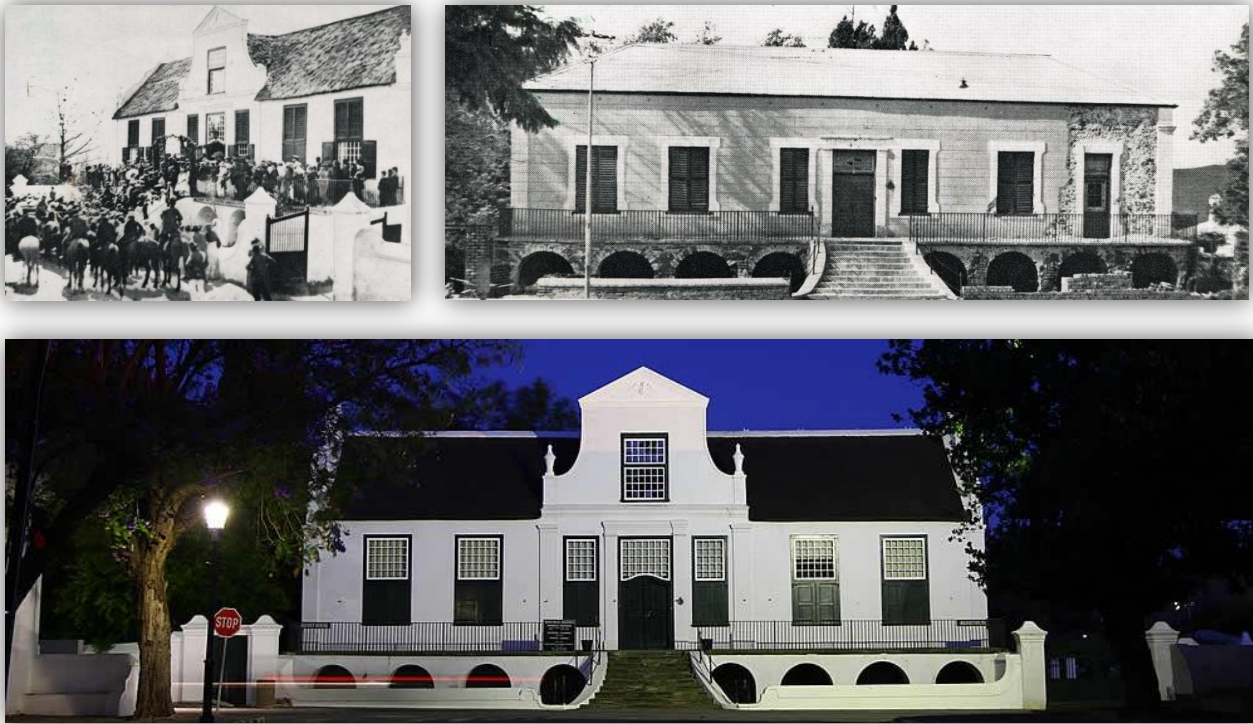


Fig.21. Reinet House as it originally appeared in the late 1800s (in Immelman and Quinn, *The preservation and restoration of Historic Buildings in South Africa*, plates). Reinet House – reconstruction started in 1946 (Immelman and Quinn). Reinet House after reconstruction (www.graaffreinet.co.za/listing/reinet_house).

Twenty-one years after Groot Constantia was restored to its 'best', Norman Eaton (1902-1966) would, with a similar philosophy to that of Kendal, reconstruct Reinet House back to its 'best'. Although the result of both these restorations affected a monumental Cape Dutch House, they were both very different cases. Groot Constantia's restoration was the result of a fire in a well-documented building that with existing measured drawing and detailed documentary evidence to support Kendal's decision to put the house back to a similar form to what it had before the fire. The Graaff-Reinet restoration took years longer required much more study and resultantly used a greater degree of conjecture in its restoration to its previous 'best'.

In 1947, the old Graaff-Reinet parsonage (Reinet House) of the DR Church was bought by the Graaff-Reinet Publicity Association with the purpose of restoring the near derelict building from its 'mutilated' Victorianised form back into its 'hypothetical' Cape Dutch neo-classical form. The association raised money on a pound-for-pound grant from the provincial administration, which matched the funds raised by public subscription (which included substantial funds from Charles te Water, former high commissioner for South Africa in London). Te Water also appealed to the Historic Monuments Council, which declared

Reinet House a national monument in 1950.¹⁶² The reconstruction included the rebuilding of all six gables and reinstatement of a pitched thatch roof. Where salvaged joinery could not be found, replicas were made of (virtually all) of the windows and doors in the property.¹⁶³ The 'Reinet House Museum' was eventually inaugurated in 1956 by the Governor General of the Cape, E.G. Jansen.¹⁶⁴ Eaton's 'painstakingly detailed' nine-year restoration emphasised the perceived rarity and significance of Cape Dutch architecture at this time.¹⁶⁵ He speaks of the need for 'considered preservation' based on the building as a 'three-dimensional document', which must be 'correctly read and true in all its facts and features'. By this he means that everything must be in its original context and 'nothing must be falsified in the name of improvement'. The result of the preservation must ensure that 'everything can be proved to have originally belonged' or provide a 'reasonable indication of having done so'.¹⁶⁶

Eaton's use of the term 'document' is familiar, however his definition was very different to that of Boito or the principles of the Athens Charter. Eaton thus defined his 'building work' as 'getting back to the original',¹⁶⁷ describing his restoration style as 'carefully locating and then removing all obvious later additions of no historic value (or which detract from the homogeneity of the architectural ensemble)'.¹⁶⁸ ¹⁶⁹ For a building to retain its 'proper' character and their full value as references, it is imperative that restoration shall be historically accurate and be kept in the right context from both a structural and aesthetic points of view'.¹⁷⁰ In all cases an attempt was made to remain as close as possible to the techniques used at the time the building was originally built. These similarities with Viollet-le-Duc's earlier texts are uncanny as Eaton's clear intention was to reinstate, restore and, where necessary, reconstruct in order to ensure the preservation of Cape Dutch architecture in general and Reinet House in particular.¹⁷¹

In 1948, after long building campaigns, both the Huguenot Monument in Franschoek and the Voortrekker Monument in Pretoria, were inaugurated by D.F. Malan, the newly elected Prime Minister. Under apartheid, the Voortrekker Monument would become an oppressive icon of one culture's domination over

¹⁶² Minaar, *Graaff-Reinet*, 145 - 147

¹⁶³ Eaton, *Preservation and Restoration*, 40.

¹⁶⁴ Minnaar, A., "The restoration of Historical Graaff-Reinet." *Restorica* 21 (April 1987): 37, <http://hdl.handle.net/2263/46918>

¹⁶⁵ Norman Eaton (1902-1966). Pretoria born and educated architect who won the Herbert Baker Scholarship to attend the British School of Architecture in Rome in 1930 after which he travelled extensively. Eaton was close friends with many South African artists including Van Wouw, Pierneef and Alexis Preller. He was awarded the SA Architects gold medal posthumously. http://reference.sabinet.co.za/webx/access/journal_archive/10113053/273.pdf

¹⁶⁶ Eaton, *Preservation and Restoration*, 41.

¹⁶⁷ Eaton in Jan Ploeger et al., *Conservation of Our Heritage- Part 1: Preservation of Old buildings and Historic Relics* (Cape Town: Caltex, 1966.), unnumbered.

¹⁶⁸ Eaton, *Our Heritage*, unnumbered

¹⁶⁹ Eaton, *Preservation and Restoration*, 41.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid.

¹⁷¹ Darke, "Afrikaner Nationalism".

another's after Malan's National Party won a whites-only general election. Its structure was likened to the pyramids and Taj Mahal and by evoking these buildings and their concomitant cultures of greatness, Afrikaner culture sought to elevate itself. In this way the Afrikaner memorial tradition effectively set itself against rival African kingdoms and also the forces of British imperialism.¹⁷²

This chapter has explored the political significance of Cape Dutch architecture in a unionist South Africa and the development of a conservation philosophy of 'to-best' style within the socio-political contexts of the day. The next chapter will extend an exploration of these same issues into the Nationalist South Africa after 1948 and the end of the Union in 1961 to understand the link of Afrikaner nationalism to the historic built environment and later its transformation into a 'white' South African identity by the late 1960s.



Fig.22. The Voortrekker Monument during its 1948 inauguration was surrounded by a sea of Afrikaners (by Margret Bourke http://johnedwinmason.typepad.com/john_edwin_mason_photogra/2012/08/margaret-bourke-white-south-africa-p1.html).

¹⁷² Murray, *Desire Lines*, 245.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE CONTINUED DOMINANCE OF THE 'TO-BEST' CONSERVATION PHILOSOPHY IN NATIONALIST SOUTH AFRICA

(1948/1952 – 1969)

This chapter examines the Nationalist's revival and appropriation of Cape Dutch architecture in the second half of the 20th century to establish a common 'white' identity. This was a period of apartheid, marked by a deteriorating internal security and increasing political isolation.

The Afrikaners' apparently dismissive position regarding Cape Dutch architecture did not persist long after the National Party came into power in 1948.¹⁷³ The apartheid state of the National Party proceeded to promote and preserve white cultural heritage, and the VOC and Cape Dutch architecture came to be among the symbols of this 'white heritage construct'.^{174 175} Defunct for a century, the gabled old houses of the Cape found a powerful new life as cultural symbols in a politicised post-World War II society. The symbolic meaning of the gable was resurrected and then used by the National Party and its supporters as an emotional cultural agent in the name of nation-building. To this generation, the gable symbolised a past unity of spirit as well as a possibility of future unity. The post-World War II Cape settler community was seeking to a separate identity through its historic roots, not in the mother-culture of Europe but in the soil of Africa itself.^{176 177}

¹⁷³ The period concluded with the publication of 'The monuments of South Africa' was published, the only gabled buildings listed at the Cape are: Groot Constantia (No.8), The Huguenot Museum in Paarl (No.14), The Old Church, Tulbagh (No.15) and La Gratitude in Stellenbosch (No.28). The numbers relate chronologically to when they were proclaimed and suggest that apart from a few monumental buildings, the Cape gable was not considered to be the manifestation of settler/Afrikaner identity.

¹⁷⁴ Darke, "Afrikaner Nationalism," 29; Witz, *Apartheids's Festival*, 11-13; Leibman, "Groot Constantia," 30.

¹⁷⁵ Kriel, Mariana, "Culture and power: the rise of Afrikaner nationalism revisited," *Journal of the Association for the Study of Ethnicity and Nationalism* 16 (2010): 402 – 422. <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1469-8129.2010.00443.x/full>

¹⁷⁶ Goldblatt, David, Margaret Courtney-Clarke, and John Kench, *Cape Dutch Homesteads* (Cape Town: Struik, 1984,) 23.

¹⁷⁷ In 1953 De Bosdari publishes *Cape Dutch Houses and Farms* to meet the increased public interest in Cape architecture and history. The book would be republished in 1964 to include a chapter by Hans Franssen. Significant other mid-century publications was James Walton's *Homesteads and Villages of South Africa*, which for the first time takes the focus off Cape Dutch Gables and moves towards other types of South African vernacular albeit still largely colonial heritage.



Fig.23. Jan Van Riebeeck 300 Celebrations on the Grand parade with reconstructed gabled Culemborg townscape in 1952 (from Witz, *Apartheid's Festival*, 17).

The mid-20th century socio-political context

In 1952 the ANC initiated a national defiance campaign against apartheid. The government reacted harshly with severe punishments that triggered a mobilised resistance and state insecurity, while simultaneously orchestrating the Tercentenary Jan van Riebeeck Festival as a celebration of colonial / Afrikaner identity.¹⁷⁸ The festival fair and imaginative historical pageants were pivotal events in establishing the paradigm of a national history and constituting its key elements. The historical pageant in the streets of Cape Town presented a version of South Africa's past that legitimised settler rule. The ideological frenzy resurrected Jan and Maria Van Riebeeck from obscurity and made them into folk heroes, lead actors on South Africa's public history stage.¹⁷⁹ The 1950s would be characterised by the creation of Afrikaners folk heroes, who were given a new position of pre-eminence in the sacred

¹⁷⁸ Giliomee and Mbenga, *New History*, 328.

¹⁷⁹ It would appear that before 1950, Van Riebeeck appeared only in passing in school history texts, and the day of his landing at the Cape was barely commemorated. From the 1950's, however, Van Riebeeck acquired centre stage in South Africa's public history. This arose out of an attempt to create a colonial nationalist ideology

landscape of Afrikaner political mythology, usually marked by the passage of ox wagons and exaggerated colonial history (e.g. Wolraad Woltemade, Danie Theron and Rachel De Beer).¹⁸⁰

1959 – 1969: precursors of the Tulbagh restoration (from symposium to earthquake)

1959 marks, in this research, the beginning of a ten-year ‘count-down’ to the Boland earthquake and is distinguished by a number of significant events that will be put forward as the ‘triggers’ to the subsequent restoration of Tulbagh. The year was a milestone for conservation in the country and in Stellenbosch in particular, with the establishment of the Simon van der Stel Foundation, as well as significant restorations of gabled Cape Dutch buildings.¹⁸¹

On the April 8th 1959, at an inaugural meeting held in the Castle of Good Hope in Cape Town¹⁸², the Simon van der Stel Foundation (SvdS Foundation)¹⁸³ was established under the auspices of the SA Akademie vir Wetenskap en Kuns. This non-profit national organisation was directed by Dr Willem Punt ‘with the aim being of preserving for posterity, our historic built heritage by purchase and restoration’¹⁸⁴...while at the same time engendering and stimulating a pride and interest in our nation’s architectural heritage’.¹⁸⁵ The foundation’s regular publications included the 1968 book entitled *Ons Kaapse Geuwels – Our Cape Gables*. The book’s introduction by Meiring Naude (National Chairman of SvdS Foundation) stated that the aim of the book was to engender a ‘deeper appreciation of our ancestors’ and ‘create a sense of national pride’. Relics of our Cape Dutch-gabled architecture ‘link’ South Africa to the high ‘standards of civilization’, skilled craftsmanship and good taste of our Dutch ancestors throughout the world...giving a true national picture of the establishment of the South African nation and its achievements.¹⁸⁶ The similarities between Naude’s introduction here and that of Vorster’s Tulbagh inauguration speech are self evident.

¹⁸⁰ Witz, *Apartheid’s Festival*, 11 -12.

¹⁸¹ Brook-Simons, P., *Cape Dutch Houses and Other Old Favourites* (Cape Town: Fernwood Press, 2000), 23. The other significant restoration of 1959 was that of Meerlust manor house near Stellenbosch which was ‘comprehensively restored’ by architect Revel Fox. It was thus from these beginnings that the restoration movement began in earnest, rapidly gaining momentum over the coming decade. Houses such as Rustenberg, Schoongezicht, Uitkyk, Stellenberg, Stettyn and Westoe were all brought back to life by post war owners.

¹⁸² Immelman, *Preservation and Restoration*, x-xi.

¹⁸³ Simon van der Stel Foundation, see appendix B.

¹⁸⁴ Ploeger, *Our Heritage*, i.

¹⁸⁵ Immelman, *Preservation and Restoration*, x-xi.

¹⁸⁶ Simon Van der Stel Foundation Bulletin 17 (Oct 1968), 10 – 14.



Fig.24. The reconstructive restoration of the Burger House was groundbreaking in 1959 (from <http://www.kapstadt-net.de/pages/sehenswuerdigkeiten/weinland/stellenbosch/tours/fick-house.php>).

In 1959, after discussions about the proposed demolition of the Burger House in Stellenbosch, a group of ‘agitators’ launched a campaign ‘with all the techniques of propaganda’ and the building was saved and restored by the municipality, with the support of Anton Rupert’s Rembrandt group.^{187 188 189} Eaton would, however, soon after come to criticise the ‘rushed’ restoration of the Burger House for its lack of preparatory research and failure to appoint a proper advisor or supervisor. The building’s annex, ‘an essential appendage of the visual continuity of the historic chain of buildings around the Braak had been levelled to expose the unsympathetic and newly built magistrate’s court behind it’. Among other criticisms, was an issue with the roof, which was pulled off and replaced by an ‘outwardly similar one’ and the old windows which were removed and replaced by a heterogeneous collection of other old windows, but of different types salvaged elsewhere in town.¹⁹⁰ This first significant restoration in Stellenbosch ‘set the pace’ and, since then, the conservation conscience has grown immeasurably.¹⁹¹

¹⁸⁷ Historic Homes of South Africa, Corporate brochure and annual report (Stellenbosch: Historic Homes, 2012),13.

¹⁸⁸ Dommissie, Ebbe, Anton *Rupert a biography* (Cape Town: Tafelberg Publishers, 2005,) 358.

¹⁸⁹ In the early 1930s the Stellenbosch Town Council had become sufficiently aware of the comparative antiquity of the town, that an effort was initiated to preserve some of the town’s old-time atmosphere. The first notable example was the ‘clearing up and general renovation’ of the VOC powder magazine on Die Braak and its consequent 1936 Historical Monuments Commission (HMC) - The restoration of the landmark military building entailed the removal of modern accretions that had by then completely surrounded the original VOC structure.

¹⁹⁰ Eaton, *Preservation and Restoration*, 50.

¹⁹¹ Stellenbosch 300 Foundation, Brochure (Stellenbosch: Stellenbosch300, 1978,) 25.

A further attempt by the Stellenbosch Town Council to preserve the individual buildings of Dorp Street as well as the character of the town resulted in the promulgation of regulations to control building constructions in the historic old street.¹⁹²

In 1959 the National Conservation Symposium on *The Preservation and Restoration of Historic Buildings*, brought together the country's conservation fraternity and consolidated the post-war pragmatic approach into architectural conservation. The recent establishment of the SvdS Foundation was credited for having 'set the right time' for the symposium whose prominent members included businessmen (Dr Anton Rupert), historians (Dr Mary Cook) representatives from the Cape Provincial Institute of Architects, local and provincial administrations, the SvdS Foundation and the Historic Monuments Commission. This group would become a force to be reckoned with, together wielding enough power and influence to get substantial projects (including the Tulbagh restoration) accomplished. Joining forces with architects and planners, they would significantly tackle the practical problems of identifying and preserving places with high national importance.¹⁹³

1960s political situation deteriorates

The political context of the 1960s would become dominated by Prime Minister Hendrik F. Verwoerd the 'architect of apartheid'. Following the massacre at Sharpeville in March 1960, South African became increasingly isolated and in 1960 a referendum among the white population brought the Union of South Africa to an end and proclaimed the South African Republic.¹⁹⁴ In 1961 the Republic of South Africa also left the Commonwealth and consequent altercations with the United Nations led to three decades of ever-increasing international isolation.¹⁹⁵ It would later be claimed that isolation accounted for the lack of

¹⁹² Theron in Immelman, *Preservation and Restoration*, 68.

¹⁹³ Malan, "Reflections," 17-29.

¹⁹⁴ Giliomee and Mbenga, *New History*, 336. In the same year H.F. Verwoerd announced South Africa's withdrawal from the Commonwealth of Nations as a result of criticism from this organisation - after which the country was expelled from the Commonwealth Association of Architects. A three decade period of ever increasing international isolation had begun. To challenge the country's transition to a republic, the ANC and SACP established a military wing called Umkhonto we Sizwe or MK (The spear of the nation). Over the next 18 months MK carried out 200 acts of sabotage in South Africa, while the ANC's exiled leaders overseas, and headed by Oliver Tambo began efforts to secure military training for guerrilla recruits and win international backing for a South African trade embargo.

¹⁹⁵ Giliomee and Mbenga, *New History*, 337. H.F. Verwoerd, 'architect of apartheid', announced a plan to remove all African representation in Parliament and mooted the idea of independent 'homelands' for blacks. In response, the anti-white Pan-African Congress (PAC) is formed under Robert Sobukwe, who announced a campaign to defy pass laws, which culminated in the mass protest of peaceful demonstrators at the Sharpeville (31 March 1960) police station east of Johannesburg. When the police panicked and opened fire into the crowd, 69 black protesters were tragically killed - The international condemnation of the massacre was immediate and the UN Security Council discussed the issue of apartheid in SA and recognised that apartheid as a threat to world peace and security. The weeks that followed saw mass protest action, a national pass burning campaign, and national strikes that crippled the country's industry. The government responded by declaring a state of emergency, banning the ANC and PAC and detaining over 18 000 people. The white South African mindset was further traumatized by South African newspapers at this time, which also covered the dramatic decolonization

adherence to prevailing international conservation charters.¹⁹⁶ This resulted in a profound disconnection between popular/mass notions of heritage and officially state-sanctioned notions of heritage.¹⁹⁷ Increasingly, throughout the following decades, the concept of heritage in South Africa came to be framed in terms of a narrowly conceived white Afrikaner cultural history.^{198 199} Alongside government-approved modernism, the Historical Monuments Commission continued to define South Africa's heritage mainly in terms of its white, Cape-based origins. The Cape Dutch Revival thus found continued life in a new context of nation-building, not under the rubric of unification this time but rather aimed at affirming the cultural roots of the new leaders. In today's revisionist terms, Cape Dutch architecture was 'appropriated by the Nationalists as a commodity in the discourse of apartheid'.²⁰⁰



Fig. 25. Photograph of the Schreuder Cottage in Stellenbosch as it appeared in the late 1800s, an image that was used to guide Fagans later restoration. (Date of photo unknown. <http://www.stellenboschheritage.co.za/stellenbosch-resources/stellenbosch-heritage/>).

In 1962, a defunct art gallery, Grosvenor House was donated by the Stellenbosch Municipality, with the aim of establishing a museum in the town. The restoration of the building was made possible with the financial assistance of the Cape Provincial Administration. The following year Schreuderhuis was donated by the Lubbe family in its highly Victorianised form to the museum who a decade later in 1972 would commissioned the Fagan architects to renovate the building back into its 'original' Cape Dutch best form. Schreuderhuis is possibly the oldest house in the town and the only one to have survived the terrible fire of 1710. At the time of the Tulbagh earthquake Dr Hans Fransen (born 1931) was the curator of Grosvenor House, and thereafter until 1974, he was the curator of Groot Constantia.²⁰¹

of the Congo, with horrific reports and accounts of the flight of whites from the Belgian Congo and of rampaging solders after the granting of independence.

¹⁹⁶ Buttgens, "Castle of Good Hope".

¹⁹⁷ Shepherd and Robins, *Keywords*, 121.

¹⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 120.

¹⁹⁹ Punt, Willem J. "Deurbraak vir bewaring," *Restorica Journal* 1 (1974):6.

²⁰⁰ Malan, "Reflections," 17-29.

²⁰¹ Hans Fransen. See appendix B Main proponents.

Fagan's La Dauphine - restoration 'To-Best'

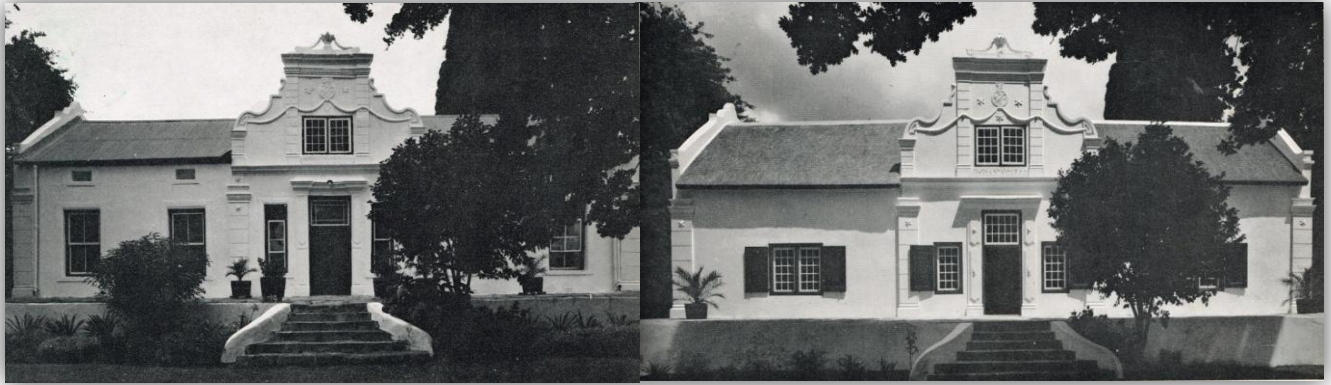


Fig.26. La Dauphine before and after the Fagan restoration (from Immelman and Quinn, *The preservation and restoration of historic buildings in South Africa*, plates).

Fagan's first 'heritage' projects came early on in his career (1950–1960) as the architect at Volkskas Bank. In addition to designing 15 new banks, he had also recycled many old buildings to function as banks. In 1964, Gawie Fagan moved to Cape Town and established 'Gawie Fagan Architecte'. It was in this way that Willem Punt from the SvdS Foundation became aware of Fagan, recognising his passion for old buildings and recommended him thereafter to a Mr. Malherbe from La Dauphine in Franschoek. Fagan was thus offered this significant conservation project, that of a 'full restoration' of the Cape Dutch house.²⁰² The house, which was built in 1804, had intact gables having been 'superficially' Victorianised and was 'carefully restored' by the Fagans, to its original state.²⁰³ It was agreed by the owner and architects that the house was of immense value and significance in its original form and should be fully restored with a shallower pitched thatched roof and concomitant lower front walls. Period casement windows and joinery were also manufactured and installed. Examination of the wall materials after removal of plaster showed quite clearly parts of the original lintels and relieving arches as well as other areas where new brickwork replaced older. 'So it was easy to put it back to its original'.²⁰⁴

Fagan received a merit award from the Institute of South African Architects in 1968 for this project.²⁰⁵ When questioned about his conservation philosophy at the time, Fagan revealed: 'I had to formulate my

²⁰² Fagan interview 21 Sept 2016.

²⁰³ Fransen, Hans and Mary Cook, *Old Buildings of the Cape* (Cape Town: AA Balkema, 1980,) 225.

²⁰⁴ Gwen Fagan email 12 July 2016.

²⁰⁵ Ibid.

own ideas because, unless one wants to refer back to Ruskin or Pugin or Kendal and Eaton, there was very little English literature available at that time'.^{206 207}

While the new government was implementing apartheid, Afrikaner business tycoon and philanthropist Dr Anton Rupert²⁰⁸ (Chairman of the Rembrandt Group) was initiating his first conservation projects which would lead to his 1965 establishment of his conservation company Historic Homes of South Africa Limited (HHSA).²⁰⁹ 'Historic Homes', as the company is known, would literally change the face of many of the oldest towns at the Cape, starting with the Tulbagh townscape just four years later. Anton Rupert was born and raised in Graaff-Reinet, lived most of his life in Stellenbosch, and had businesses and children at school in Paarl and consequently, after the Tulbagh restoration, his historic homes organisation would thus come to focus on these latter three towns.²¹⁰

In September 1966 H.F. Verwoerd was assassinated in parliament and succeeded by B.J. Vorster (1915 – 1983).²¹¹ His many public speeches reveal common threads, namely a defence of separate development, and an appeal to English-speakers to unify the white races of the country. It is clear that Vorster valued bringing white South Africans together through common European culture and nation-building, and his support for the nation building qualities of the Tulbagh restoration are in line with this viewpoint.

....it is of the uttermost importance as far as the future of South Africa is concerned; that Afrikaner and English speaker must understand each other and they must have a common love and loyalty for this fatherland South Africa...It is not necessary for you to sacrifice your language. It is not necessary for the Afrikaner to sacrifice his cultural heritage; it is not necessary for you to sacrifice yours. Mutual respect for each other's language, for each other's tradition and common love and loyalty for South Africa will bind us together.²¹²

²⁰⁶ Barker, A, "Hetrographic synthesis: Mediation in the domestic architecture of Gabriël Fagan" (DPhil thesis. University of Pretoria, 2012,) 159 .

²⁰⁷ Townsend, Stephen, "Development rights and conservation constraints" (D.Phil diss., University of Cape Town, 2003). Townsend recalls his disquiet as a young architect over the debates in South Africa in the 1960s and 1970's, which seemed at the time 'conspicuously void of theory, principles and ethic.'

²⁰⁸ Dr Anton Rupert. See appendix B of main proponents.

²⁰⁹ HHSA. See appendix B of main proponents.

²¹⁰ Dommissie, *Anton Rupert*, 453 -466.

²¹¹ B.J. Vorster. See appendix B of main proponents. Vorster would be Prime Minister until 1978 and thereafter State President to 1979

²¹² Geyser, O. ed, *BJ Vorster, Select Speeches* (Bloemfontein: Inch-UOFS, 1977).

Fagan's Tuinhuys - restoration 'to-best' – motives and philosophy

In March 1967, after a meeting with President elect Eben Donges and his wife,²¹³ Fagan received his first official government conservation commission from the Ministry of Public Works - to 'perform architectural duties required' for the restoration of the Government House/Tuinhuys in Cape Town, a project completed in 1971. The significant VOC-era building had, over the centuries, been substantially enlarged and eventually restyled in the Regency fashion. The Fagans client, the Department of Public Works wanted De Tuinhuys reconstructed back to its presumed previous Dutch appearance. In this case, the state, through the ministry, requested that the building be restored to an 'original' state, according to VOC-era drawings (1758). This instruction clearly reflects the brief and suggests that the VOC period was the preferred reference point for 'conservation practice and Nationalist Afrikaner history'.²¹⁴

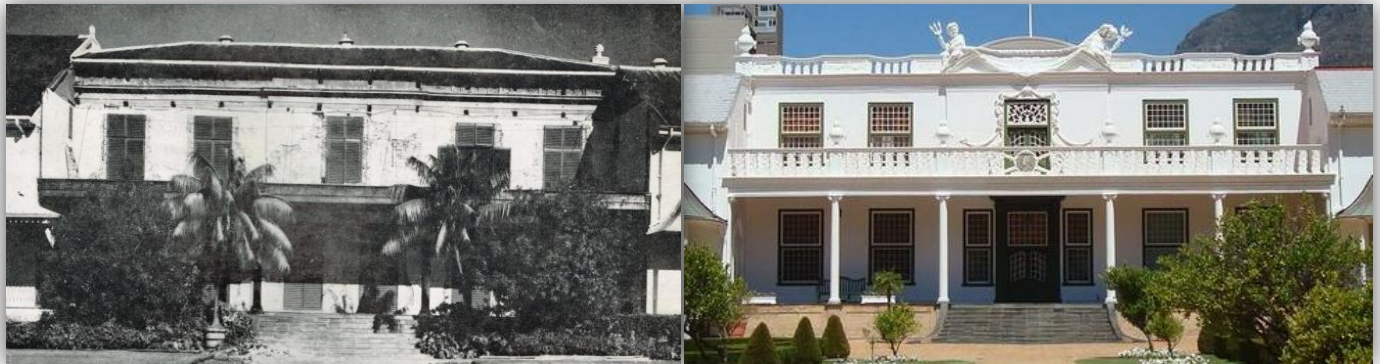


Fig.27. Tuinhuys in 1967 before the Fagan restoration (from Immelman and Quinn, *Historic Buildings*, plates). Tuinhuys in 2015, 40 years after the Fagan restoration (from <https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Tuynhuys>).

Fagan confirms that it was decided to restore the building to its late-18th century appearance as most of the existing documentary evidence of architectural detail was from this period.²¹⁵ As with his restoration of the Castle of Good Hope, Fagan again cites the 'rarity value' of the Rococo façade of De Tuinhuys to have dictated the method of conservation.²¹⁶ 'The very interesting frieze on the garden side of the previous flat roof was still intact under the later veranda, which had been erected by Lord Charles Somerset. There was, however, a very accurate drawing of this façade by Josephus Jones which matched the details found in every respect. The figurines were modelled by a very competent sculptor, Sydney Hunter, and then added to the façade after the later veranda was removed. The parterre garden, which showed on old drawings, was also restored and the fountain was rebuilt on its old existing

²¹³ Darke, "Afrikaner Nationalism," 63.

²¹⁴ Murray, Shepherd and Hall, *Desire Lines*, 3 and Darke, "Afrikaner Nationalism," 118.

²¹⁵ Fagan, Gabriël, *Twenty Cape houses* (Cape Town: Bree Street Publications, 2005,) 54.

²¹⁶ Darke, "Afrikaner Nationalism," 64.

stone footings.²¹⁷ Fagan maintains that much of the work undertaken at De Tuinhuys involved the removal of 'accretions and stylistic adaption that had occurred over time' and that the 'rarity of the artefact dictated the method'.²¹⁸ This stylistic restoration, as with the Castle, represents a situation where the architect, through extensive historical research, has placed himself in the position of the original 'artist' a la Viollet-le-Duc.²¹⁹

In 1968, UCT librarians, Rene Immelman and Gerald Quinn, published *The Preservation and Restoration of Historic Buildings in South Africa* based on the symposium a decade earlier. The book aspired to update the original symposium's relevancy into the 1968/9 context, as well as consider its results and successes. Recent books were credited for their part in creating a culture of conservation as too were 'significant allied developments' such as the establishment of HHSA and other successful urban renewal projects in depressed areas of Cape Town, including the proclamation of part of Cape Town's Malay Quarter.²²⁰

The book which thanked, amongst others, the following individuals for 'their kind assistance' with its production: Fransen, Fagan, Historic Homes, the Cape Institute of Architects and most notably its chairman, Revel Fox.^{221 222}



Fig.28. The cover of Immelman and Quinn's book is illustrated with the reconstructed rear gable of Reinet House.

In total there were 21 listed contributors to the original conference, all of whom were widely representative of the field of architectural conservation. Considering the aims of the

²¹⁷ Email from Gwen Fagan, 1 July 2016.

²¹⁸ Scurr, Michael John, "Contemporary Interventions in historic fabric: Context and authenticity in the work of Gabriël Fagan," (M.Phil. diss. University of Cape Town, 2012,) 124.

²¹⁹ Darke, "Afrikaner Nationalism," 74.

²²⁰ Immelman, *Preservation and Restoration*, xi.

²²¹ *Ibis.*, vi. Count Natale Labia of Muizenberg had sponsored the publication of the book in the final years of his life.

²²² *Ibid.*, vii.

conference, it seems plausible that it was not a coincidence that many of these same individuals listed above, would go on the following year, to play a major role in the restoration of Tulbagh after the 1969 earth quake.²²³

Apart from a lecture delivered by Dr R.B. Lewcock on the British influence on South African architecture, other lectures focused on the legacy of Cape Dutch-gabled building, specifically those from the 18th and early 19th centuries. Eaton justifies this focus:

Buildings (of this period) have provided far and away the most important category of historic monument in this country from a cultural point of view....I believe that the meticulous and correct restoration and preservation of what is left of the best of those old Cape buildings when achieved – must have a profound effect on ‘our future stature as a civilized nation.’²²⁴

At the symposium Mary Cook delivered a paper on ‘the authenticity of restoration’ ‘to-best form’; a philosophy similar to that of Eaton. The paper was introduced by Prof W.E.G. Louw, who expressed a concern about how to preserve...‘something of the quiet beauty of the past and, above all, how to ensure that this shall not be in bad taste or spurious.’²²⁵ Cook emphasises throughout:

...no work is worth doing unless it is authentic, or correct, or right – call it whichever name is most suitable at the moment, for the idea behind all these terms is the same. All good work is correct and careful work.

She dismisses a dictionary’s definition of restoration (to bring back to original form or condition) as unsatisfactory for two reasons. Firstly the original form of the building may be open to much doubt, owing to later alterations and additions. For another, the original form may be far from its finest form, and to restore the original form may mean destroying later work which is of equal historical importance and perhaps greater artistic value. For these reasons she praises Kendal’s definition in the case of Groot Constantia, namely that the aim of restoration was not to restore a building back to its original firm, but rather to restore to its ‘best form’²²⁶ and although correctness of style and detail are part of the answer; the rest of the answer is the ‘retention or recapture of the atmosphere or character’ of a building. The

²²³ Accreditations were made to expert historians like Mary Cook, architects like Norman Eaton and academics, as well as significant conservation organisations such as the SvdS Foundation, the National Society and the National Monuments Commission as well as representatives of local city councils and politicians.

²²⁴ Eaton, *Preservation and Restoration*, 41.

²²⁵ Ibid., vii. Professor W.E.G. Louw (1913 – 1980) formerly Cultural Editor, *Die Burger*, Afrikaans writer and critic. Chairman, Board of Trustees, South African Museums (Cultural history), Council member of Simon Van Der Stel Foundation. From 1967 to 1978, he was a professor of Afrikaans and Nederland’s at Stellenbosch University.

²²⁶ Cook in Immelman, *Preservation and Restoration*, 10-11.

rest of her lecture outlines the technical details and principles of Cape Dutch architecture suggesting that Cook's restoration philosophy was that of stylistic and detailed design-by-analogy and the 'filling-in' of missing elements to reinstate complete, a building to its best form.

Shortly after the seminar, at the end of 1968, Historic Grahamstown Ltd was formed by Richard Lewcock, author of 'Early 19th Century architecture in South Africa'. He had a vision of restoring all of Grahamstown's old buildings. With assistance and support from Rupert's Historic Homes, Anglo American and the SvdS Foundation, a total of 11 English settler cottages, as well as a number of other noteworthy buildings, were bought and restored.²²⁷ A synergy had emerged between these role players that would the following year go on to form the basis of the Tulbagh restoration. As a sign of things to come, in 1969 HHSA bought and restored ten dilapidated cottages in a cul-de-sac called Stretch Court located behind the Drostdy Hotel in Graaff-Reinet. It would seem that Rupert's organisation had expanded its conservation vision from the restoration of single buildings to a wider concern for streetscapes. The complex was inaugurated by Prime Minister Vorster in 1970.²²⁸



Fig.29. Restored Stretch Court (www.graaffreinettourism.co.za).

²²⁷ Norval, Roline, "Passion for Preservation," *Restorica Journal* (1998), 28. <http://repository.up.ac.za/handle/2263/46834>

²²⁸ Henning, C.G., *Graaff-Reinet: A cultural history, 1786 to 1876* (Cape Town: Bulpin, 1975,) 145 - 147. Despite the fact that many of the historic cottages were built by coloured families and had been owned by this community for over a century, it was proclaimed a 'white street' (according to the Group Areas Act.) and all but two of the families had already been forced to move to the township nearby. After Historic Homes bought the street, the last two coloured families agreed to move and the restoration and reconstruction of the streetscape commenced.

Fagan's restoration of the Castle, an icon of the Republic – 'To-Best'

Also in 1969, the Department of Public Works appointed Fagan to undertake the restoration of the Castle of Good Hope, a project that was supported by the highest levels of the Nationalist political establishment. The Castle is a key site in terms of the symbolism of white colonial heritage and its importance as a self-affirming cultural symbol of Afrikaner identity, is apparent in the still ongoing, almost half-century restoration and reconstruction project by the Fagans.^{229 230}



Fig.30. The Fagan restored Castle of Good Hope (from South African Tourism <http://www.southafrica.net/za/en/articles/entry/article-southafrica.net-castle-of-good-hope>).

Buttgens describes the reconstruction of several significant 'lacunae' within the Castle that were completed to ensure the projection of the idealist colonial heritage and thus a unified nationalist identity.²³¹ The values of the proponents for the preservation were unselfconsciously nationalist and ensured that this symbol of VOC/Dutch power was preserved.²³² The brief stated that the Castle was to be restored to its original appearance, with the removal of all later unsightly additions 'to allow the Castle

²²⁹ Buttgens, "Castle of Good Hope," 57.

²³⁰ Darke, "Afrikaner Nationalism," 78. The Fagans restoration of the castle of Good Hope has proven to be the most 'ambitious' restoration project ever undertaken in South Africa, with the most recent contract, the eighth, having been signed in 2016. The contracts have spanning about 47 years and costing approximately R32 000 000 – today's value R576 000 000 based on an average inflation rate of 10 per cent

²³¹ Buttgens, "Castle of Good Hope."

²³² Townsend, "Development Rights," 119-120.

to come into its own again'.²³³ The citadel represents a key site of nationalist white heritage and was the first site to be declared by the HMC on the April 6th 1936.²³⁴

Fagan states that his aim was to return the buildings at the Castle to their 'best state', and the client permitted him to work according to his own methods, with no interference in the execution of the works: 'DPW understood what I wanted to achieve and allowed me to work accordingly'.²³⁵

The stylistic restoration undertaken by Fagan confirms the theoretical position of Viollet-le-Duc, whereby Fagan's ultimate goal was to achieve an 'appearance of cohesion' and 'unity of style'²³⁶, referring to the values inherent in buildings and the scientific research methods required in order to execute an 'informed' restoration.²³⁷ Fagan's approach was dictated by the 'rarity' of the building and he therefore pursued the renovation and reconstruction in term of his vision of a stylistic reconstruction²³⁸. Fagan argues that a contemporary intervention is only applicable or suitable when restoring a less significant building or object, the 'rarity' of the artefact determines the intervention and methods of conservation charter and texts.^{239 240} The Castle had provided a platform for various cultural and historical festivals, which formed part of the 'indoctrination' by the Nationalist state.²⁴¹ The ministry of the DPW was instrumental in projection the ideology and cultural history of the Nationalist government through the consolidation of *lieux de memoire*/realms of memory.²⁴²

Also in 1969 in Swellendam: a decision was taken to expand the town's Drostdy Museum complex by building a new open air *ambagswerf* (tradesman's yard) of eight newly constructed vernacular agricultural and craftsmen's buildings as well as other traditional agricultural structures including charcoal kilns, a smithy and wagon-maker's workshop, threshing-floor, tannery, cooperage and copper smithy.²⁴³

²³³ Fagan in Buttgens, "Castel of Good Hope," 2.

²³⁴ Fransen, Old Buildings, 39.

²³⁵ Darke, "Afrikaner Nationalism," 79.

²³⁶ Fagan, Gabriël "The restoration of the Castle of Good Hope," *Architecture SA* (November/December 2001), 20 – 23.

²³⁷ Darke, "Afrikaner Nationalism," 84.

²³⁸ Townsend, "Development Rights," 235.

²³⁹ Scurr, "Contemporary Interventions," 123-124.

²⁴⁰ Darke, "Afrikaner Nationalism," 20. Fagan's methodology was supported by both the Cape and National institute for Architects in presentation of their award of excellent for the castle restoration. The 2002 citation notes that the 'names of the Fagans can now be recorded against those of the original designer engineer Dombeyer and the likes of Thibault as having signification contracture to the architectural legacy of our country. This award suggests that despite certain controversies the SA IA and CPIA still supported these stylistic restoration methodologies in the post-apartheid era, when contemporary conservation methodology in keeping with the Venice and Burra Charters had long been accepted.

²⁴¹ Darke, "Afrikaner Nationalism," 78.

²⁴² Ibid.

²⁴³ Thomas, *The Drostdy*, 30.



Fig.31. The reconstructed 'ambagswerf' of Swellendam museum built just before the Tulbagh earthquake (<http://www.drostdymuseum.com/ambags/>).

Also in 1969, in Graaff-Reinet, the Prime Minister inaugurated the John Rupert Art Gallery in Parsonage Street, which Anton Rupert had purchased and restored and dedicated to his late brother.²⁴⁴ Most significantly to the unfolding of the Tulbagh restoration, towards the end of 1969, partly as a result of the efforts of architectural preservation societies, the National Monuments Act was adopted and the HMC was replaced by the National Monuments Council (NMC). The result of the Act and the formation of the NMC ensured the state's role as curator of the national heritage and 'invocation' of various cultural symbols.²⁴⁵ Shepherd describes the Act as formalising a tradition that had been underway for some time; the switch to a predominantly architectural notion of heritage focused on the build environment.²⁴⁶ Right up until 1994 the conservation of South Africa's national heritage was officially in the care of the NMC, a body dominated by conservative Afrikaners (often members of the Broederbond), and given to meeting the apartheid government's political agenda. Their primary activity was the proclamation of national monuments. There is a clear indication that the proclamation of national monuments was used as a means of supporting racist ideology, usually by emphasising the merits of immigrant white culture and linking these to the supposed superiority of the white (master) race.²⁴⁷

²⁴⁴ Minnaar, "Historical Graaff-Reinet," 39.

²⁴⁵ Witz, *Apartheid's Festival*, 11-13.

²⁴⁶ Shepherd and Robins, *Keywords*, 121.

²⁴⁷ Frescura, Franco, "Culture in transition in South Africa – Lecture 4: Problems in conservation of the historical environment in post-apartheid South Africa" (lecture, Politecnico di Milano, Milan, Italy, 15 May 2007)..



Fig.32. The John Rupert Gallery and the thatched Rupert House residence next door, making up a fine parsonage streetscape with Reinet House as the view-stopper (<http://www.karoorpark.co.za/valley-of-desolation.html>).

On the 29th September 1969, a 6.1 magnitude earthquake ravaged the Northern Boland and the historic town of Tulbagh was particularly badly affected. Chapter six will however first examine the architectural history of Tulbagh to trace its development from 1700 as well as its all important pre-earthquake preservations and conservations in the first half of the 20th century.



Fig.33. Tented camps arise in the aftermath of the earthquake (http://www.ceresmuseum.co.za/?page_id=80).

CHAPTER 6

AN ARCHITECTURAL AND CONSERVATION HISTORY OF TULBAGH

(1700 - 1969)

Tulbagh makes an excellent case study for a number of reasons: the town is amongst the oldest in the country (third oldest based on the 1746 establishment of its Roodezandt Church or in fourth position (ties with Graaff-Reinet), based on the 1804 establishment of its Drostdy). This long history ensured that by 1969, Tulbagh had a wealth of noteworthy, and more importantly, existent Cape Dutch monuments, as well as many less important, largely intact, albeit significantly altered, buildings from the 18th and 19th centuries. In addition, it will be shown that Tulbagh already had a pre-earthquake conservation history going back to the beginning of the 20th century; as initiated by Sir Meiring and Lady Beck and continued mid-century by Mary Cook.

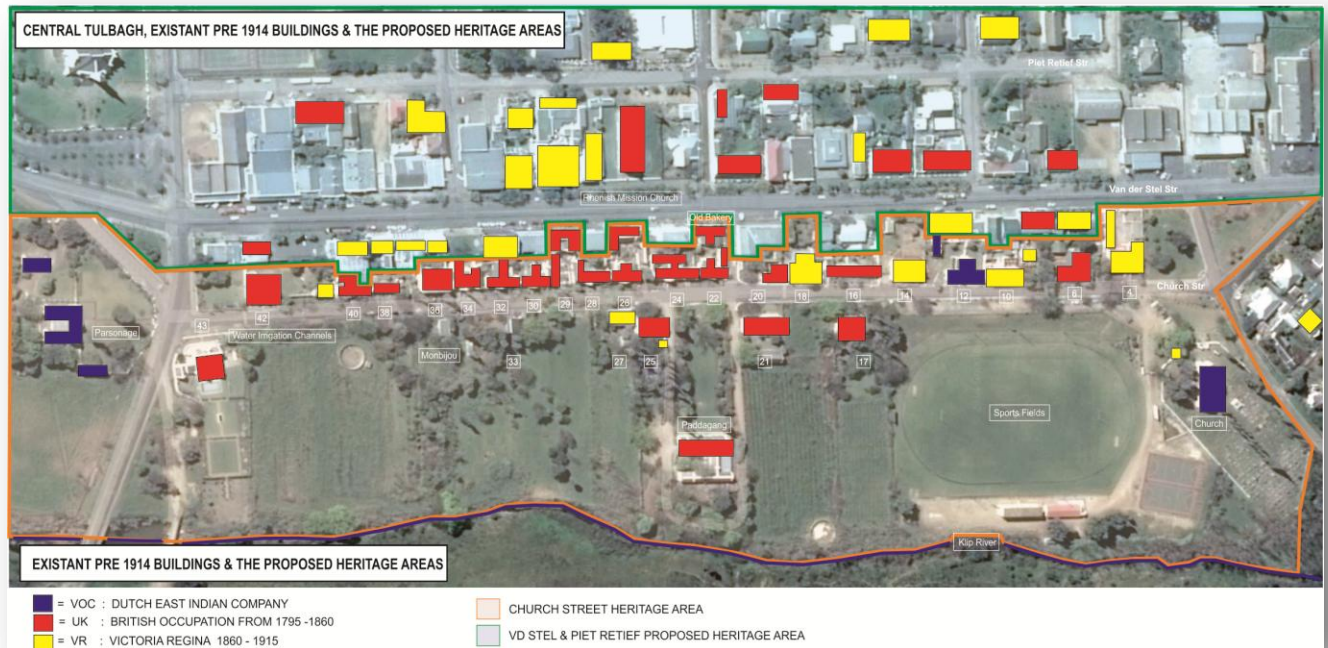


Fig.34. Map of existent pre-1914 buildings by author.

Architectural history of the development of Church Street in Tulbagh

In 1700 Willem Adriaan van der Stel followed an existing Khoi-San track of remarkably red soil over the Roodezandts pass and named the valley 'Het Land van Waveren' after his mother's family. Later that year, the first eight loan farms were granted in the valley, with freehold farms being granted from 1714, and the first permanent stone structures began to be erected. In 1718 the valley was properly mapped and surveyed.²⁴⁸

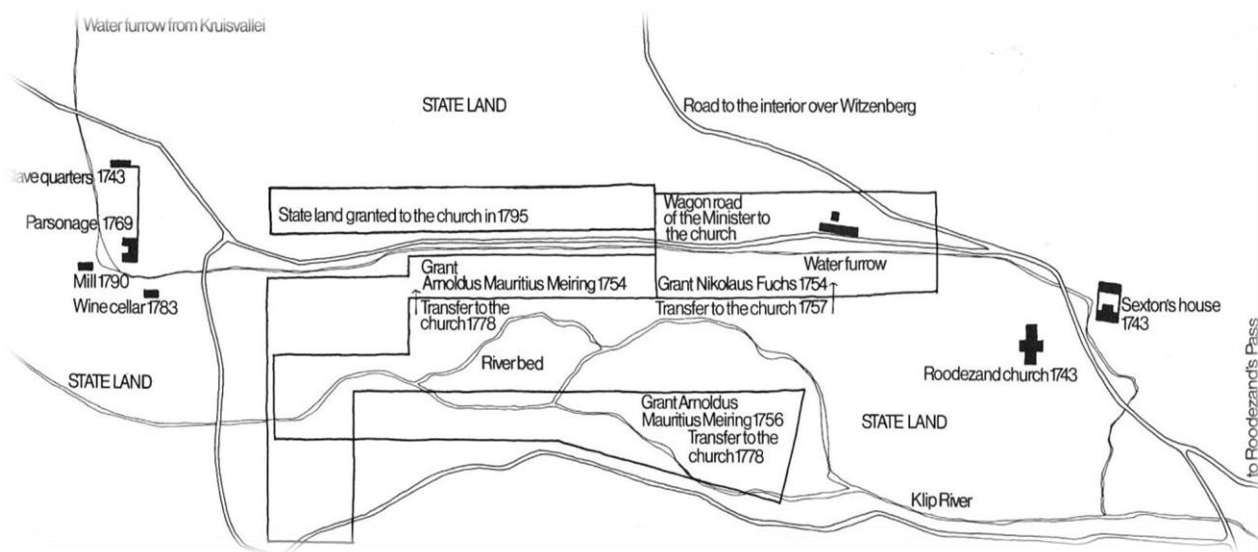


Fig.35. Roodezandts Church Settlement and its land grants to 1794 (in Fagan, Church Street, 36).

In 1743 the VOC decreed that a Church, Parsonage and Sexton's house should be built on a site on the Klip River. Tulbagh was laid out as what Fransen describes as a 'River-ribbon town', where a small river was selected and the first buildings of the village sited a little distance away from it, leaving a strip of highly fertile alluvial ground between its base street and the river. This strip could then be watered from a furrow (itself derived from the river higher up in its course), running along the base street. The oldest houses are lined up on the higher side of Church Street, each with their narrow strip of land on the river side.²⁴⁹ The first four buildings were completed by 1748 and most of the agricultural land below the wagon track, between the Church and the parsonage, was soon thereafter also granted to the Church by the VOC. Despite the presence of a Church, Roodezandts failed to develop until the 1790s.²⁵⁰

²⁴⁸ Fagan and Fagan, *Church Street*, 15 - 24.

²⁴⁹ Fransen, Hans, "Town and village layout at the Cape, with special reference to the mission village," *Journal of the Vernacular Architecture Society of South Africa* 26 (2012), 2-4. <http://www.vassa.org.za/wp-content/uploads/2015/05/VASSA-Journal-26-final-text-COMP.pdf>.

²⁵⁰ Fagan and Fagan, *Church Street*, 40.

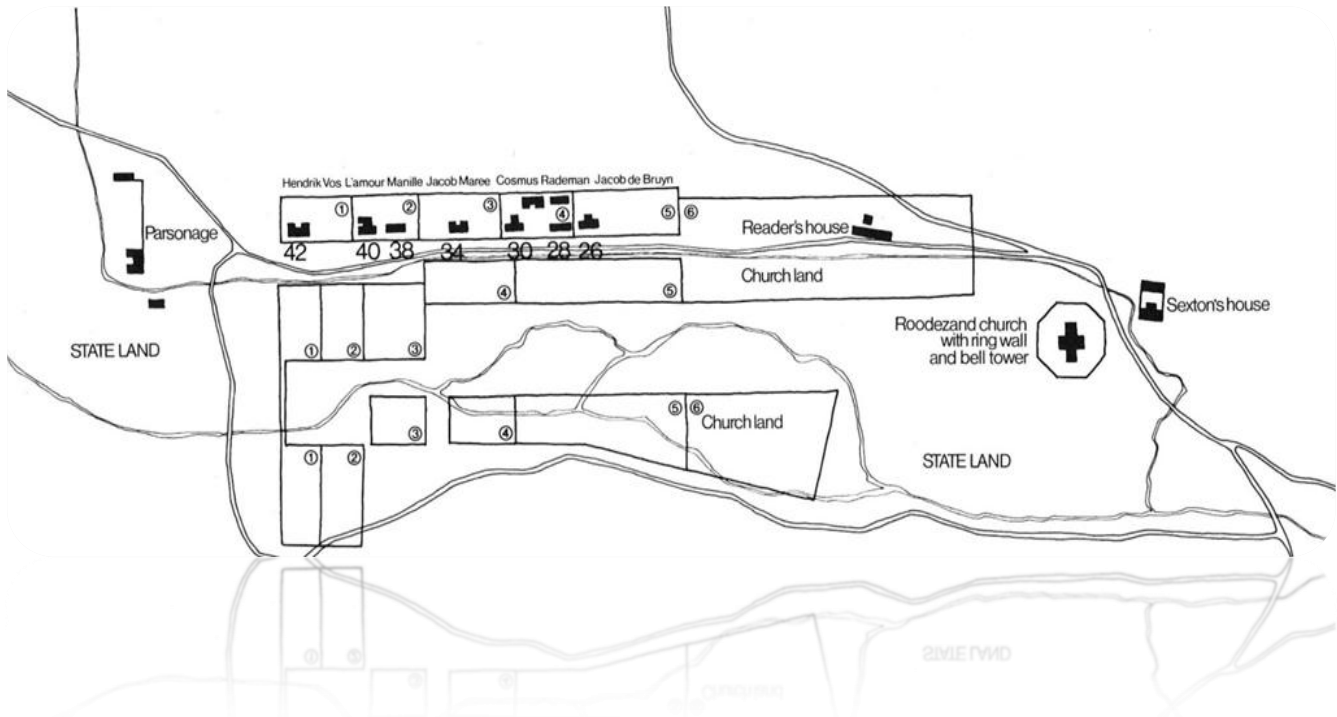


Fig.36. First plots and houses in Church Street in about 1800 (in Fagan, *Church Street*, 41).

In 1794, as part of Rev. Vos' ambitious plan to formally lay out a village, the Church was granted a parcel of land east of the wagon road between the parsonage and Church. This grant was in order to create building plots which could be sold to help pay for the Church's intended enlargement. The granting of this land and its subdivision resulted in the formal laying out and naming of Kerkstraat, with building stands above the road and corresponding agricultural plots below the road. Enlarged, re-orientated and reconstructed, the original Church was thus given its current gabled form in the same year, making it the oldest Church building in South Africa. The simple church settlement of Roodezandt thus slowly developed into an isolated village, known as 'Kerkstraat in Het Land van Waveren' or Church Street in the county of Waveren.²⁵¹

²⁵¹ Ibid., 43 - 46.

Growth and Decline (1804 – 1840)

By 1804, the five owners of Church Street erven had further subdivided their properties and built about ten houses on the eastern side of the street. In most cases more than one house had been built on these erven, which were occupied mainly by tradesmen and shopkeepers. Since most travellers to the interior had to pass through Tulbagh, the village inhabitants did a good trade.²⁵²



Fig.37. Church Street views, North and South by W.J. Burchell, 1811 - displaying an early aesthetic interest with the street's uniform standardised architecture (in Fransen, *Old Towns and Villages of the Cape*, 85).

After being proclaimed a magisterial district in 1804, the church town at Roodezandt in Het Land van Waveren was renamed Tulbagh in honour of the late governor of the Cape, Rijk Tulbagh. For the next fifteen years Tulbagh was the centre of a huge district and the consequent prosperity in the valley ensured a good or at least reasonable life for most. The Drostdy (magistrate's court), designed by

²⁵² Ibid., 43 - 44.

master architect Louis Michel Thibault, had been built three kilometres north of the parsonage due to apparent water shortages along Church Street in summer. Following a devastating storm in 1822, and official reports that grossly exaggerated damage to the Drostdy, Lord Charles Somerset decided to relocate the Drostdy from Tulbagh to Worcester. Thus began Tulbagh's decline.²⁵³

During the prosperous years of early British occupation up until 1822, Tulbagh had rapidly developed into a village of 30 to 40 houses and buildings, built in two neat parallel lines facing east and west, with their backs to each other. In 1821, 18 new erven were subdivided from state land and sold off to the east of the village. The road separating these new erven and the original Church Street plots was known first as an 'Achterstraat', then as Commercial Street and currently Van Der Stel Street, which forms the main commercial road of the town.²⁵⁴

Victorian Tulbagh (1840 – 1900)

In 1845, shortly after slaves were emancipated at the Cape, Bainskloof Pass was constructed to create a shorter road between Cape Town and the interior, effectively bypassing Tulbagh and further negating its strategic position with a resultant negative effect on the local economy and building trade.



Fig.38. The very early 1861 panoramic photograph (in Fransen, *Old Towns*, 85).

In 1851 the Church was granted three final parcels of land, which effectively lengthened the Street / village all the way to the Church building. This new land was soon subdivided and sold at auction, resulting in six early/pre-industrial Victorian era houses being built in the traditional thatched and pointed front gable Cape style (# 6, 17, 21 and 23).

In 1861 an early panoramic photograph was taken of Tulbagh, which then still largely appeared as an intact Cape Dutch village, a rare record of the unblemished harmony of the traditional Cape style with

²⁵³ Ibid., 46.

²⁵⁴ Ibid., 47 - 48.

thatched-roofed houses, no two alike, yet in their diversity displaying a unity born out of the direct use of limited materials pre-1880.²⁵⁵

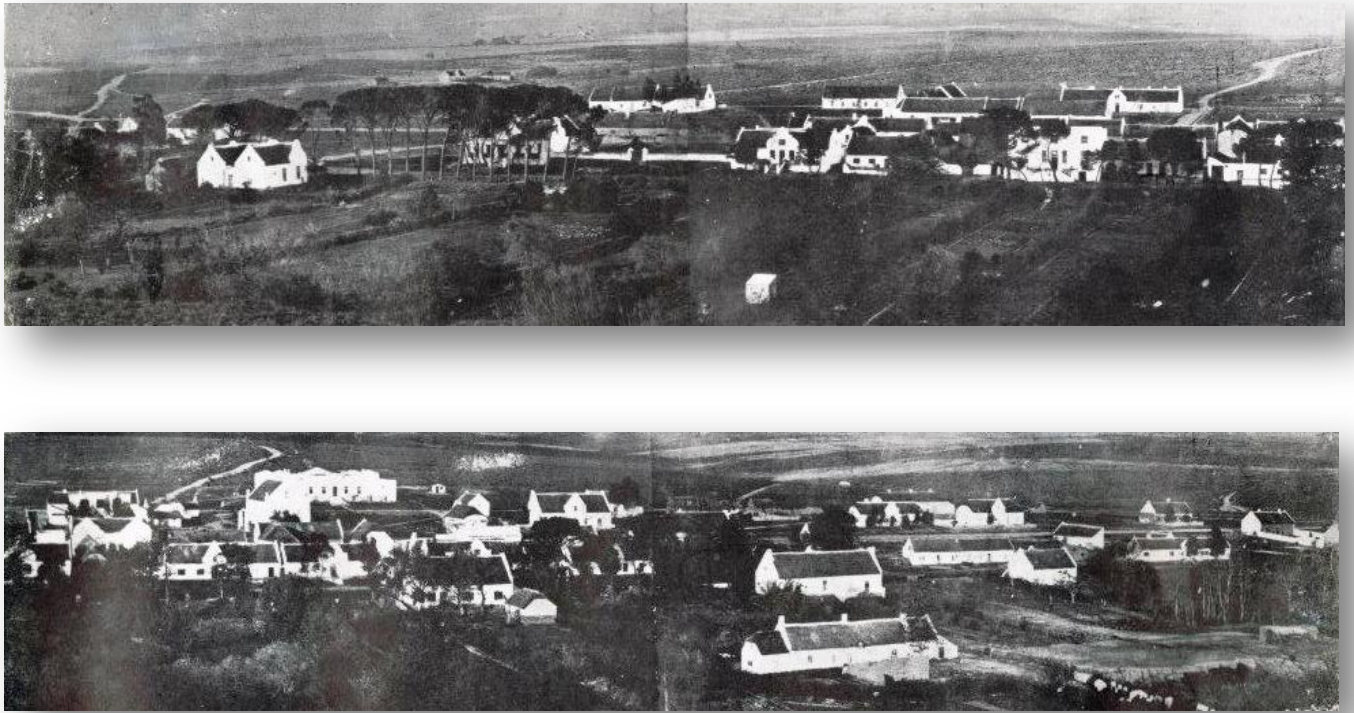


Fig.39. Detail showing a rural pre-industrial village of thatched and gables houses (original in Fransen, *Old Towns*, 85).

In the 1880s and 1890s new houses in the last remaining undeveloped building erven to the south of Church Street were built as modern Victorian houses, with tin roofs, plaster mouldings, verandas and cast iron 'broekie lace' trim (#2, 10, 14, and 18). From around 1880, over a period of about 30 years, the gables and Dutch appearance of the street was changed and updated by the individual owners of most of the houses in the street. As most of these owners would have identified themselves as Dutch or Afrikaners at the time, it is noteworthy that they had 'turned their backs' on the Cape architectural tradition and 'tore down their own gables'. In this way many a fine gable was either severely clipped or entirely and unnecessarily demolished to accommodate the new roof structure.²⁵⁶

This can be partly ascribed to the fact that following the industrial revolution, new building materials and pre-manufactured materials became widely available at affordable prices, which resulted in rapidly changing building styles and fashions during the mid- and later- Victorian and then Edwardian eras. Also,

²⁵⁵ Fransen, *Old Towns*, 83-84.

²⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 85.

by 1880 the traditional Cape gables had lost their meaning and significance to the residents of the houses of Tulbagh and indeed the whole of the colony.

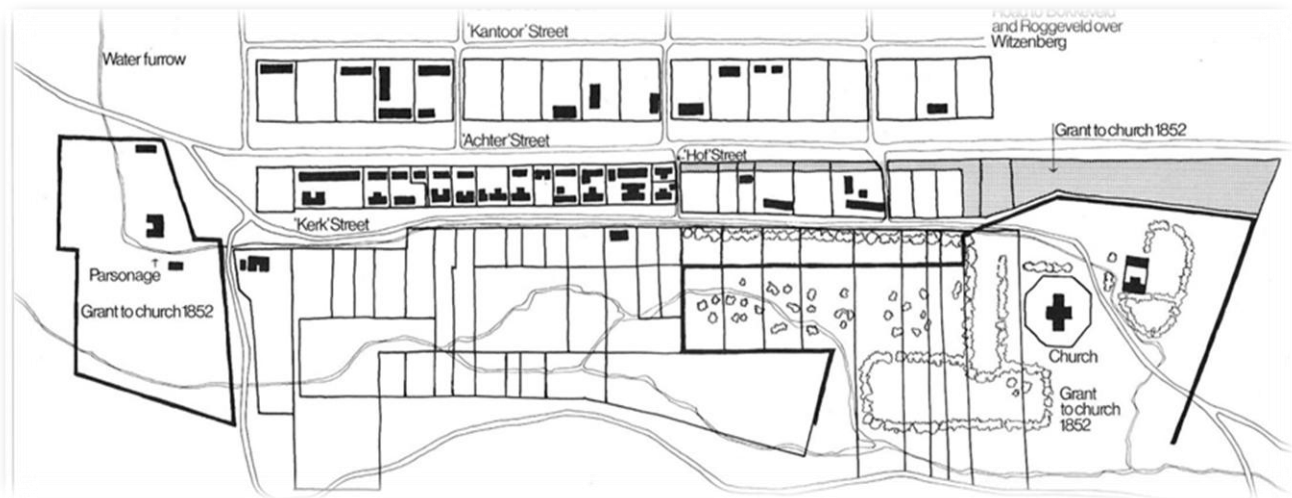


Fig.40. Last plots in 'Achterstraat' and Church Street (In Fagan, *Church Street*, 49).

Brand makes a convincing argument that buildings keep being pushed around by three irresistible forces – technology, money and fashion²⁵⁷, and the Industrial age epitomized this. In this photograph (photo 2, top left block building on the hill) Tulbagh's first corrugated iron roof appears to be that of the newly-built prison. Starting around 1880 and largely completed by 1900, many of Tulbagh's Cape Dutch houses were subjected to the most severe forms of Victorianisation. The Victorians at the Cape, as was the case with their predecessors, were determined to follow European trends and had little appreciation, understanding or interest in the balance, symmetry and order of Cape Dutch architecture nor the meaning and symbolism that these old fashioned houses and their gables had carried with them.²⁵⁸ The light-loving Victorians updated their Cape houses with large windows and doors and usually divided the large Dutch-styled rooms into a 'warren of passages and small rooms'.²⁵⁹ Costly and flammable thatch was replaced by durable 'fire-proof' corrugated-iron sheeting, and roof structures and wall heights were awkwardly adjusted to accommodate what was seen as a marvel of the age.²⁶⁰

In 1872 the Tulbagh Church council suggested that the 'rotten, ant-infested walls of the old church building' be demolished and replaced with a new church on the same site at an estimated cost of some £4000. Fortunately in 1874 the Church council was given a piece of crown land and thus between 1876-

²⁵⁷ Stuart Brand, *How buildings learn – what happens after they're Built*, USA: Penguin Books, 1994, 9.

²⁵⁸ Brooke-Simons, *Meerlust*, 92.

²⁵⁹ Gwen Fagan interview, September 2016.

²⁶⁰ Hans Fransen Interview, 5 March 2014.

8, a 'newer more commodious church was built in the popular Gothic revival style' by Jan Hager, the son of Otto Hager, a well-known architect and church builder. With the arrival of the new Church, the 'Oude Kerk' was thereafter only used for secular purposes. It became greatly dilapidated and, at the turn of the Century, there was again a danger of it being demolished.²⁶¹

In 1902, after the end of the South African/Anglo-Boer War, a final house was built at the southern end of Church Street in the Victorian/Edwardian style, with a full length veranda on two sides, French doors, large sash windows and attic windows. With all of the street's building stands now occupied, future residential developments would be constructed in several parallel streets further east up the hill. Over the decades many of the street's old houses would continue to be superficially changed, enlarged and extended to suit the modern lives of their current owners. In time even cast iron verandas were replaced by those of cast concrete and in others enclosed with face brick to create 'stoepkamers'.²⁶²

Sir Meiring and Lady Beck.

In 1903 Sir Meiring Beck (sold 'Rustenburg' in Cape Town) bought and then meticulously restored the derelict old Tulbagh Drostdy along with 1000 acres of land, much under vines ravaged by phylloxera.²⁶³ Sir Beck was a great grandson of the first minister of 'Het Land van Waveren' and, when talk arose of demolishing the old Church building; he became determined to save it from such a fate. After his death in 1918, his wife Lady Beck continued the struggle to preserve the building. She spent decade writing over 2000 letters to this end before the Church finally agreed to cede the building to a board of trustees 'as gift to the nation, to be restored and used as a museum of antiquities'.²⁶⁴ A newspaper article from 1923 suggests her motives for crusading to save the building:

²⁶¹ Cape Argus, cutting, 11 April 1923 in UCT archives.

²⁶² Fagan and Fagan, *Church Street*, 50 – 51.

²⁶³ Scully, William Charles, *Sir Meiring Beck: a memoir* (Cape Town: Miller, 1921.) The previous owner, (a Mr. Du Toit), valued the land but looked upon the mansion as a white elephant. His intention had been to either give the materials of the house to anyone who would pull it down and cart them away, or else to turn the large hall into a wagon-house and the rooms into stables. The stately old house had fallen into such a sad state of disrepair that it was looked upon by the people of the neighbourhood rather as an encumbrance than an asset. But to Beck and his wife, 'a plaintive appeal seemed to sound from the past — a call urging them to bring new life to what had become an unsightly shell, degraded from its former purpose and put to undignified uses.' The feasibility of adequate restoration was recognised, and the bargain was closed - the Becks purchased the place only just in time to stop the proposed vandalism. The restoration was a long and expensive business. Partitions had to be taken down and the walls scraped and plastered.

²⁶⁴ Cape Times, 14 November 1950.

The Church is the most ancient Christian one South of the Equator. It stands as it was originally built, without change or additions of any kind, and is an interesting specimen of old Dutch architects and builders; as such will be a lasting embodiment of the artistic taste and dignified style of the early colonials. The site has been out of use for some time, the building is in a bad state of repair, so a considerable sum of money will be needed to restore it to its pristine condition. It will be the first museum of antiquates situated in a county district, and as such should attract much interest.²⁶⁵



Fig.41. Oudekerk in Tulbagh around 1900 by Arthur Elliott shows two ears missing and dereliction setting in (in Fagan, *Church Street*, 63).

To aid in the museum's establishment, Lady Beck also donated a substantial collection of Cape furniture. Thus in 1925, the restored Oudekerk Museum was opened and inaugurated by Dr. D.F. Malan, then Minister of Internal Affairs.²⁶⁶

In 1930 there was talk of demolishing the 'Oude Bakkerij', an attractive little 1805 T-shape house in Van der Stel Street, back to back with a similar house in Church Street. Despite retaining its original gable and thatch roof, the building was in a terrible condition. A group of local Tulbagh women, including Lady Beck, campaigned for its preservation and shortly afterwards they, as trustees of the newly established Tulbagh Library, received transfer of the property. The house was convincingly, although not perfectly

²⁶⁵ "De Oudekerk Volksmuseum Van het land van Waveren," newspaper unknown (11 April 1923). From UCT archives

²⁶⁶ Ibid.

restored by its new trustees.²⁶⁷ They attempted to complete a hypothetical earlier Dutch appearance of the house, by replacing the Victorian windows and doors with 'period' Dutch joinery including half-shuttered windows. Aware of a sketch by Alice Trotter from 1897, the twisted chimney from the buildings days as a bakery was also reconstructed. After restoration, the building was donated to the Tulbagh Town Council to be used as a municipal library.²⁶⁸



Fig.42. The 'Old Bakery' before Lady Beck's restoration and after the Fagan restoration. (Fagan and Fagan, Church Street, 101).

In 1934 a fire swept through the Tulbagh Drostdy, destroying the roof and all internal woodwork, fittings and furniture. The significance of the building to the Union government was emphasised when the National Society made payments towards 'restorative architectural services', even though the building was in private hands at that time. In collaboration with the owner (Mr. E.H. Nellmapius – the Beck's son in law), this important building was restored to the complete satisfaction of the Historical Monuments Commission. This restoration supports the listing of the Tulbagh Drostdy, along with the Castle, Government House and Groot Constantia as being 'one of the four most notable architectural legacies left by the early colonials'.²⁶⁹

²⁶⁷ Fransen, Hans and Mary Cook, *Old Houses of the Cape* (Cape Town: AA Balkema, 1964,) 181.

²⁶⁸ Fagan and Fagan, *Church Street*, 100.

²⁶⁹ Tulbagh – land of flowers, fruit and wine, Cape Argus, Saturday 11 December 1954. The article goes on to state that the town's population (excluding the farms) was 710 Europeans and 516 non-Europeans.

In 1945 Mary Cook bought 'Ballotina', house 43 Church Street and moved to Tulbagh with her husband.²⁷¹ In August 1946, as part of an initiative to produce an inventory of old Cape houses, the HMC contacted Cook to make enquiries about Ballotina and its proposed restoration, to which Cook responded in a lengthy letter with equally lengthy appendix, in which she stated her motivations in conserving her house. Cook stated that she bought the house 'because it is one of beauty and dignity, enough so as to help to form our children's taste'. She stated that she 'intended to preserve an example of Thibault's work - destined otherwise for certain destruction'. Cook emphasised her interest in the preservation and restoration of 18th and early 19th century Cape buildings and that she had, 'long felt certain that good restoration - meaning correct and restrained restoration – need not be prohibitively expensive'. She hoped that after the war, when materials and manpower would again become available, that her restoration of the house would progress. Cook also informed the HMC of her substantial research towards producing and publishing a survey of old buildings. She claimed to have already surveyed over 500 properties but believed that there were about 1200 existent worthwhile buildings in the Cape. Cook concluded that the HMC would find her drawings, photos, measurements, plans, notes, sketches and in particular her architectural classifications most useful in their endeavours.



Fig.43. Ballotina by Elliott with extension to the right and thatch and glazing in a poor condition (Fagan, Church Street, 166).

²⁷⁰ Dr Mary Alexander Cook (1902 – 1981). See Appendix B.

²⁷¹ Fagan and Fagan, *Church Street*, 163. It is interesting that the Fagan does not mention in his book any of the conservation work that Cook had already done on the house before the earthquake.

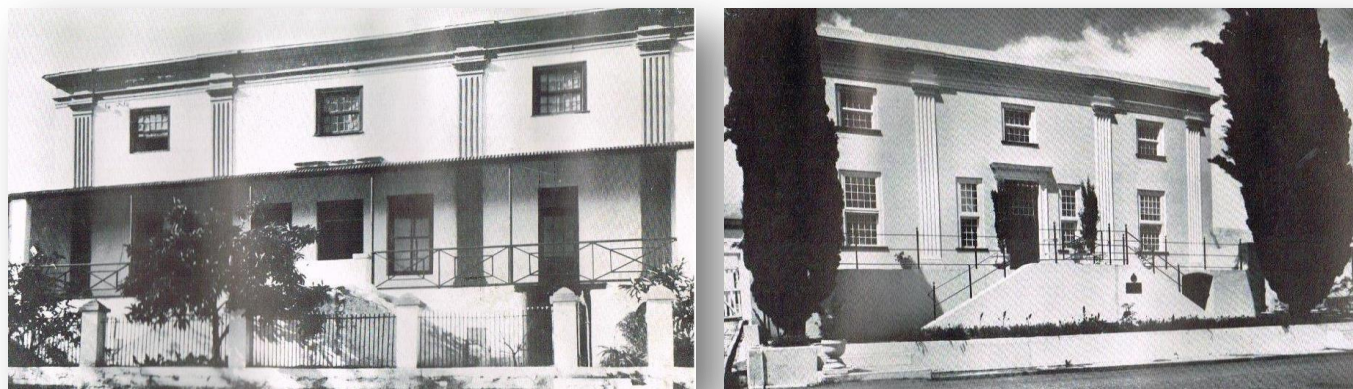


Fig.44. House 38, 'Monbijou' before and after the Cook/Beit restoration of 1951 (Fagan and Fagan, *Church Street*, 147).

In early 1950 Mary Cook alerted Sir Alfred Beit that the monumental 'De Wet House / Monbijou', was on the market. The Georgian 1815 double-storey neo-classical house 'was at that time in a sad state of dilapidation and much of its grace and beauty was dimmed'. Sir Alfred bought the house with a view to restoring it to its original state, for which the HMC expressed their deep appreciation, 'for all he had done to preserve this magnificent monument'.²⁷² Beit said that his motivation for buying the house was 'to ensure that it became a historical monument and that its future owners would have the joy of living in a perfect Thibault house which could never be torn down'.²⁷³

In 1950, following a fire at the Tulbagh Parsonage, Mary Cook wrote to the HMC to inform them about her concerns over the proposed work at the Parsonage. She mentioned that, 'the new minister from the Transvaal did not appreciate the significance of the Cape Dutch style and that he had originally suggested that that the Parsonage be demolished and rebuilt in the modern style!' Mary had quite quickly been able to 'sway the young man towards the merits of Cape architecture'.²⁷⁴ Consequently the Church had approached a restoration architect, who had 'fortunately' been too busy and had turned the job down. Cook mentions that this was a great relief to her as she had disapproved of previous work of this architect.²⁷⁵ Cook thus introduced to the Church Council, Jake Collins, an architect from Stellenbosch 'in whom she had great faith'. Upon inspecting the Parsonage had said, 'If you decide to pull down this house, I shall walk right out; if you decide to repair it and no more, I am still not interested,

²⁷² Letter from NMC to the lawyers of Sir Alfred Beit, 8 Feb 1954 in SAHRA Archive.

²⁷³ Cape Times, 14 September 1950. Cutting in UCT archives. The article describes Tulbagh, 'for all that it is so near to the city, has preserved intact its serenity, its sweet peace and harmony, and its little garden are gay with cottage flowers, with exotic flamboyants and with miraculous creepers that droop like honey from old walls.'

²⁷⁴ Letter from Mary cook to HMC, 1950. In SAHRA archives, Parsonage file.

²⁷⁵ I am unfortunately not able to make out the fist architect's name due to the poor condition of the document.

but if you decide to do a complete and proper restoration, I will do the whole job without charge'. After this the Church council decided unanimously in favour of Collins and Cook's (pro-bono) proposal for a 'complete restoration'.

Subsequently the HMC wrote to the Church Council stating their support of the choice of Mr. J. Collins as architect. In addition, the HMC stated that, 'they felt strongly that the Parsonage should as far as possible be kept in its original condition and preserved for future generations, as a valuable cultural heritage for the people of Tulbagh - who had already done so much to preserve their valuable old buildings'.²⁷⁶ In this way the NG Parsonage was restored to its original design at a cost of £9000 and made front page headlines with an accompanying full colour photograph when completed a year later.²⁷⁷

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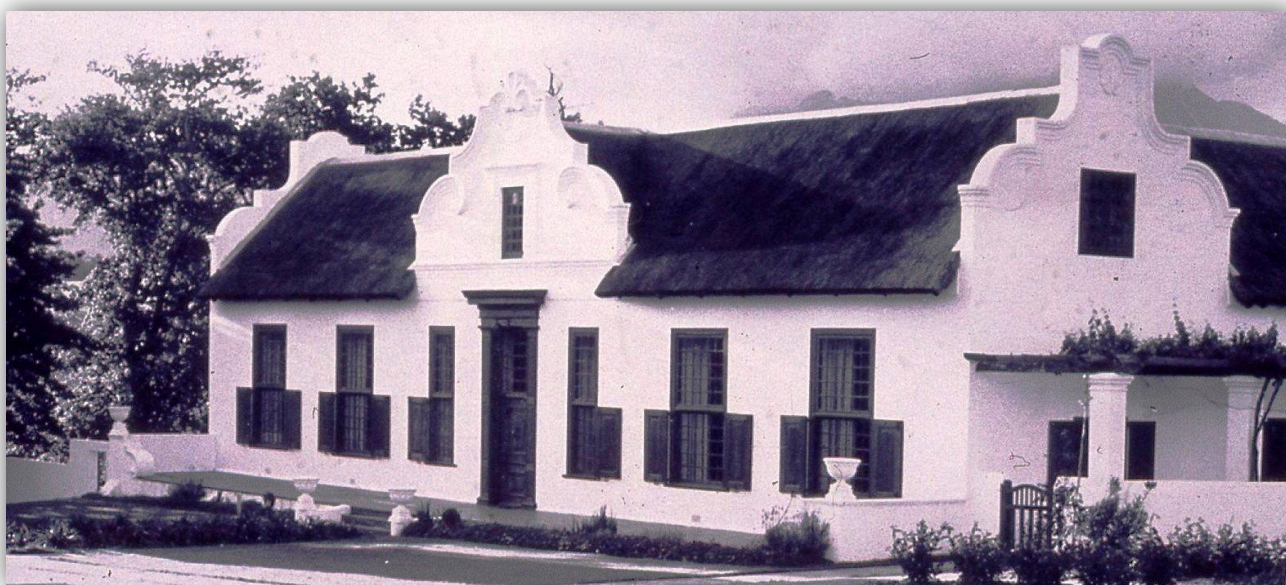


Fig.45. The Tulbagh parsonage newly restored in 1951 (from The Times, 13 August 1951, scanned from Fagan archive).

Further to this, the HMC agreed on the need to try to 'preserve the relaxed historical atmosphere still existing in Church Street by controlling the type of future buildings in the street'.²⁷⁹ To this end a letter was written to the Tulbagh town council, which read:

It is said that almost every house in the street could be considered worthy of being a National Monument and in this way the street is unique in South Africa. It would be

²⁷⁶ HMC letter to the Church Council, December 1950. In SAHRA archives.

²⁷⁷ The Times, 13 August 1951. Clipping in UCT archive.

²⁷⁸ Letter from Mary Cook to the HMC, December 1950. In SAHRA Archives.

²⁷⁹ HMC minutes, 12 March 1951. In SAHRA archives.

outrageous to constrain the development of a whole street via promulgation of National Monument status and there would be dissatisfaction from the affected property owners. The HMC therefore feels that everything possible must be done to preserve the historic atmosphere and traditional architecture in the street. It would be a pity if buildings in the ultra-modern style, contrary to the style of the old buildings are erected. The HMC therefore requests that the Municipality does everything in its power to prevent a violation of Church Street, by means of Municipal regulations and involvement in these matters. In this way the valuable and recognisable pieces of our cultural history can be protected for future generations.²⁸⁰

This early recognition by the HMC of the need to preserve the whole of Church Street is clear indication that even their mid-century Victorianised and modernised forms, that not only the individual houses, but the entire street was still deemed to contain enough historical character and architectural merit to be considered worthy of proclamation.

This sentiment was supported by Gawie Fagan's father, Chief Justice Henry Alan Fagan, who had been born and grew up in Church Street. In 1953, in a short essay on his youth, Justice Fagan demonstrated great affection for the street of his birth which he felt was worth preserving; he wrote: 'I feel that I can say with justification that I was born in one of the prettiest streets in our country. I have already heard the opinion expressed that the whole of Onderstraat at Tulbagh should be declared a historic monument'. These words seem prophetic in light of his son Gawie's restoration sixteen years later, followed by the NMC proclamation of the 'whole' street in 1973.

It was with the aim of proclaiming a number of historic buildings in Tulbagh, that in 1953 the HMC again wrote to the secretary of the Tulbagh N.G. Kerk stating that the Parsonage had been recognised as 'a particularly valuable cultural monument'²⁸¹ and merited proclamation. However, it also acknowledged that the restrictions that would come with National Monument status would be a burden to the resident minister and his family. Consequently the Commission proposed to put that particular proclamation process aside, but requested the Church Council to: never sell the building, make no changes to the building without approval from the commission, and furnish the sitting and dining rooms so that their character incorporates the general atmosphere of the building²⁸². Thus when in 1954/5 the HMC

²⁸⁰ Letter from C.v.R.L at the NMC to Tulbagh Town council, 12 April 1951. In SAHRA Archives.

²⁸¹ ('n uiters gesiene gedenkwaardigheid).

²⁸² Letter from NMC to the secretary at NGK Tulbagh, 10 March 1953. In SAHRA Archives.

declared the first three Tulbagh properties as Historical Monuments, (De Wet House/Monbijou, The Oudekerk, The Oude Bakkerij/town library), the Parsonage was not included in the declaration.²⁸³

It was a full decade later in 1964/5 that Mary Cook and Hans Fransen completed their survey of historic architecture, which they published as *The Old Houses of the Cape*. The book provided an important and extensive reference work to the history and architecture of some 500 surviving buildings in the Cape and was a milestone for the popular recognition of the Cape vernacular and of its threatened existence.²⁸⁴ The book quotes a pre-earthquake description of Tulbagh:

Church Street has to a large extent retained its mid-19th -century character, but the main street is predominantly 20th century. The town is fortunate in having a small cluster of three old houses which gives a good impression of the village scene of more than a century ago. Two of them stand back to back between Church- and Main Streets, the third one, slightly later, stands on the lower side of Church Street where in the beginning here were only gardens.²⁸⁵

In addition to these three buildings, (Old Bakkerij/ Pioneer House Museum, Danie Theron House), the book also included The Oudekerk, De Wet house, Ballotina and the Parsonage in the village, as well as the outlying Tulbagh Drostdy and the Drostdy Village/Vrede.²⁸⁶

Another pre-earthquake account of Tulbagh that emphasises the Dutch heritage of the valley reads: Today Tulbagh is a progressive town, situated in a valley beautiful as ever and is well known not only for its Cape Dutch architecture but also for its wines and wild flowers. From its glorious past there is a wealth of Cape Dutch architecture in Tulbagh. A magnificent example is the 'Oude Kerk', built in 1743 as well as the 'Oude Drostdy' and 'De Wet Huis', two buildings by the well-known architect Thibault. There is also the library, the parsonage, its wine cellar and many other houses and manors dating from the 17th century.²⁸⁷

²⁸³ List of National Monument declarations. In SAHRA Archives.

²⁸⁴ Brooke-Simons, *Cape Dutch Houses*, 23.

²⁸⁵ Fransen, *Old Houses*, 179 – 183.

²⁸⁶ Ibid.

²⁸⁷ "Tulbagh – Cape Province," undated brochure produced by the Tulbagh Town Council.



Fig.46. A pre-earthquake photograph of a Victorianised Tulbagh (in Tulbagh Municipality brochure, undated, unpaginated).

A contrary childhood account of Church Street before the earthquake remembers: ‘Onderstraat’ (Lower Street) was well named and not a pleasant place to go at all. The houses were run down, not maintained and had unkempt gardens and long grass up to one’s head.²⁸⁸ This account concurs with that of Fagan, who describes this part of town, prior to restoration, as the ‘slums of Tulbagh’, with houses reduced through subdivision and buildings unmaintained.^{289 290}

Two events in the week preceding the earthquake are significant to the subsequent restoration of the town. Firstly, the 1969 established NMC promulgated Tulbagh’s Old Drostdy as the towns fourth National Monument and secondly on Saturday 27th September, the SvdS Foundation brought 200 of their members to Tulbagh on a educational sightseeing tour of its monuments which included a picnic at Twee Jonge Gezellen estate. The day trip was marketed as ‘Operation Tulbagh’, ironic in light of the cataclysmic event which was just 2 days away.²⁹¹

During the course of Monday the 29th September 1969, there were reportedly rumblings and a minor tremor, ‘that we thought related to dynamite blasting during the construction of the Voëlvlei dam close

²⁸⁸ Interview with Basson Van Zyl, old resident of Tulbagh he was 12 at the time of the earthquake and his father owned three houses in Church Street and three others in the village. After he father sold his three Church Street properties to the TRC, he used the money to buy six houses and two farms in the valley which were all going ‘dirt cheap’ at the time, due to the earthquake damage.

²⁸⁹ Fagan interview in 17 September 2014.

²⁹⁰ Darke, “Afrikaner Nationalism”, 44.

²⁹¹ Simon van der Stel Foundation Bulletin 20 (Oct 1969), 23 – 31. Partly due to this ‘Operation Tulbagh’ within two months of the earthquake that the SvdS Foundation disaster fund received over 200 donations totalling R7657.38, which was enough to purchase and restore one of the Church Street properties

by'.²⁹² At 22:05 that evening, the full earthquake struck its first shock waves which were measured by the Magnetic Observatory at Hermanus 'were so severe that the needle of the seismograph was wrenched completely off the graph paper!' The official reading of 6.5 was thus registered on the international Richter scale in Pretoria, some 1500km away.²⁹³ The quake was felt throughout the Cape, Hans Fransen was at his home in Constantia, and his first thoughts were of concern for historic structures.²⁹⁴

This chapter has demonstrated how a long colonial history resulted in the first steps in the reconstruction a 'Cape Dutch' Tulbagh, blessed with many significant monuments that survived the ravages of time. Victorian alterations from 1861 however meant that despite much important early conservation, the 'pre-earthquake' Tulbagh townscape clearly reflected a layer of 'foreign' English culture laid over a 'pure' Dutch/Afrikaner layer. As explored in the next chapter, the earthquake of 1969 resulted in Tulbagh becoming the focus of a large scale restoration that would come to have a deep cultural significance for the country's insecure, yet dominant settler population.

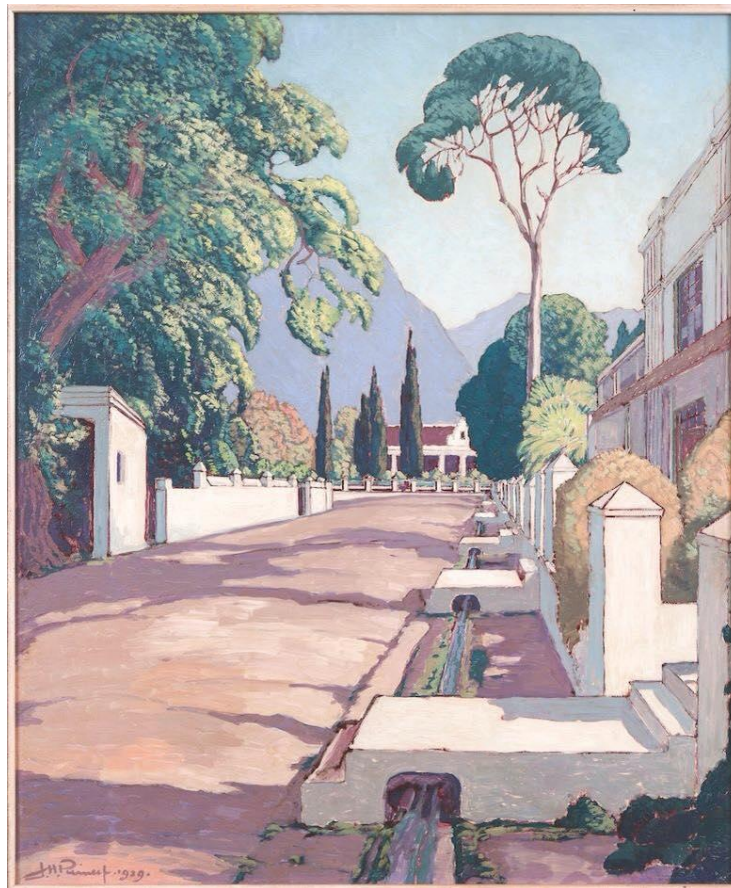


Fig.47. Pierneef painted this oil of northern Church Street in the 1930s, with Monbijou on the right and the NG Parsonage (pre-fire with pillared stoep) in the centre. Pierneef was repeatedly inspired by the idyllic charm and beauty of the street.

²⁹² Quote by Heleen Fortuin, displayed in the Tulbagh museum.

²⁹³ Our Courier (commemorative issue), 10 January 1970.

²⁹⁴ 'Ten years later', Cape Times, 29 September 1979.

CHAPTER 7 (1969 -1974)

THE POST-EARTHQUAKE SITUATION AND RESTORATION OF TULBAGH



Fig.48. Collage of newspaper headlines after the earthquake (from Tulbagh museum)

This chapter explores in detail the post-earthquake situation whereby a general Boland disaster quickly became a Tulbagh-focused, politically supported, nation-building campaign, largely funded by the state. The first part of the chapter will focus on how the proponents were drawn into the rapidly unfolding situation and the motivations behind their apparent common vision for the reconstruction of the historic core of the town back to its Cape Dutch 'best'.

In order to capture the intensity of the events that unfolded in the first two weeks/months after the earthquake, the situation will be unpacked chronologically, initially on a day by day basis. Headline and other newspaper articles of the day will also be touched on in order to draw attention to the media hype and popular sentiment and concern that contextualised the first months after the earthquake.



Fig.49. Fagan's degrees of conservation intervention (map by author).

Tuesday 30th September 1969 - First responses, the proponents come together

The morning after the earthquake, concerned individuals representing organisations devoted to conservation rallied together, initially meeting with Mr. Imker M Hoogenhout,²⁹⁵ the Managing Director of HHSA in his Stellenbosch office. The aims of these urgent discussions were recorded as the consideration of immediate steps that could be taken to try to preserve some of the historically important buildings in the stricken area.²⁹⁶

During the day the national director of the NMC based in Pretoria, Mr. J.F. Puller wrote to Mr. B.D. Malan, secretary for the NMC Cape regional committee in Cape Town. Motivated by a concern for the organisations primary directive, (preservation of declared built heritage), Puller requested that an estimation of the earthquake damage to declared National Monuments be obtained as soon as possible.

²⁹⁷

Meantime National Government (politicians) declared Tulbagh, Ceres, Wolseley and Prince Alfred's Hamlet a disaster area in order to access national resources for a humanitarian relief effort.²⁹⁸ The army, with the co-operation of the police and local institutions, arrived in the disaster area to distribute essential supplies (first aid, food, blankets) to help the victims.²⁹⁹ Help from all directions streamed into the disaster towns to ensure that the people who had to flee from their homes were re-housed, many of them in quickly erected tented towns, some 400 in Tulbagh alone. Included in the army's arsenal of emergency response were 20 heavy trucks, seven helicopters and a regiment of 230 soldiers from Youngsfield Air-base in Cape Town. Three brigadiers flew by helicopter to the disaster towns to oversee the emergency response.³⁰⁰

²⁹⁵ Imker Hoogenhout. See appendix B of main proponents.

²⁹⁶ Fagan and Fagan, *Church Street*, 10. Hoogenhout does not mention with whom he met with, although due to the subsequent events, it seems probably that he met with Rupert and/or others from Rembrandt as well as members of the Stellenbosch branch of Simon van der Stel Foundation and possibly with FD Conradie MEC. Based on the speed that decisions were made and revealed the next day, it seems further likely that the possibility of forming a national restoration committee was already considered by them at this first meeting.

²⁹⁷ NMC internal memo, 30 September 1969. Puller also mentions that 'Rembrandt' had made an offer, which maybe the NMC should accept. The nature of this offer was not revealed.

²⁹⁸ Our Courier, Commemorative Cover, 10 January 1970.

²⁹⁹ Our Courier, all quoted from Die Burger, September 1969.

³⁰⁰ Brig. Johan Fourie, Commander of the Western Cape, Brig. H.R. Bayman the commissioner of police and Brig. D.N. Acker commander of emergency services and citizen defence.

Wednesday 1 October 1969 - Reports of devastation

South Africa's morning's newspapers dramatically headlined, 'Tremor takes terrific toll on old buildings',³⁰¹ 'Quake damage far worse than first expected', 'Quake disaster towns start to take stock'.³⁰² 'New Tremors hit village and earthquake destroys historic houses'.³⁰³ 'Tulbagh is no longer a town: It has been practically wiped out'³⁰⁴

Tulbagh, the picturesque old village at the foot of the Witzenberg, will never be the same. Within a very brief moment the devastating earthquake had so mutilated most of the old houses which give the village its peculiar character that they will have to be razed to the ground... In the place of these old homes new ones will have to be erected which will completely transform the appearance of Tulbagh as a whole.' 'In Tulbagh, the village where the greatest damage was caused, an estimated 70% of the houses are so seriously damaged that they are no longer safe to live in.

'Plea over historic buildings' in an article reporting that authorities have been asked by the NMC to consider the possibility of having damaged historical monuments restored. In the same article Brigadier Fourie said that all dangerous buildings would have to be razed to the ground in a 'mammoth demolition operation'. Dr Malan of the NMC reported that of the four previously proclaimed National Monuments in Tulbagh, all were seriously affected; however, the Old Church least so. The article concluded that Government aid might have to be sought for the restoration of damaged (declared) historical monuments.³⁰⁵

That morning at the emergency CPIA committee meeting, the 'Boland disaster' was tabled on the agenda. The CPIA involvement here was in line with their organisational objectives, stated as the technical conservation of historic buildings and the academic recording of significant architecture. The meeting was well attended, in addition to Fagan; representatives from HHSA, SvdS Foundation and the NMC were all present. The aim of the participants at the meeting was clear and stated in the minutes as: To help as part of a concerted effort to save and restore the historic buildings damaged in Monday night's quake, particularly in Tulbagh. At the meeting the Chairman, (Fred Sturrock ,CPIA Chairman 1968 – 1970), reported that Mr Gilbert Colyn and Mr Ian Cruickshank had proposed that a task force be sent to the stricken areas to survey the damage to historic building and that engineers be invited to

³⁰¹ Cape Times, 1 October 1969, headline report.

³⁰² Natal Mercury, 1 Oct 1969, headline report.

³⁰³ Pretoria News, 1 Oct, 1969, headline report.

³⁰⁴ Die Burger, 1 Oct, 1969, headline report.

³⁰⁵ The Argus, 1 Oct, 1969, headline report.

assist. Fagan reported that Hoogenhout with the support of FD Conradie MEC was forming the nucleus of a restoration committee.

At the meeting, Fagan was mandated to conduct an urgent investigation the following day into the damage to the buildings of architectural merit.³⁰⁶ In this way Fagan was appointed as the CPIA's consultant as well as their liaison with both Historic Homes and Cape Provincial Administration. Hoogenhout added that he hoped that a national committee would be formed to raise money for the restoration of buildings, including the historic Drostdy of Tulbagh. Professor F. Smuts from the Stellenbosch Simon van der Stel Foundation said that his committee wished to associate with these aims: South Africa has too few of these monuments to allow a little jewel like Tulbagh to disappear.³⁰⁷ After discussions it was agreed:

- To send messages to commanders urging them to stay demolition of historic buildings.
- To appoint Fagan as the CPIA's liaison/consultant and then retain his services.
- To request that Civic Vigilance sub-committee to stand by in support of Mr Fagan.
- To notify the NMC and HHSA of the CPIA's active involvement to the Boland disaster.³⁰⁸



Fig.50. Demolition underway in Tulbagh's main road (slide from Fagan archive).

By this time the army was in Tulbagh, their primary function being to assist with the humanitarian disaster relief effort. Included in their mandate was the demolition of unsafe structures and clearance of rubble.³⁰⁹ Due to his concern over the presence of a 'demolition squad' in Tulbagh, Mr. Eric Vertue, on

³⁰⁶ Fagan and Fagan, *Church Street*, 10.

³⁰⁷ Cape Times, 3 Oct 1969.

³⁰⁸ Minutes of CPIA, 3 October 1969.

³⁰⁹ Fagan interview, 2014.

behalf of the NMC, first wrote a letter to Brigadier Fourie, army commanding officer of the Cape, followed with a phone call to confirm with him the existence of old buildings in the area and the possibilities of saving and restoring these historical monuments. It was specifically requested that declared and other historical buildings and their surroundings would be left undisturbed.³¹⁰

Thursday 2nd October 1969 - Fagan's preliminary investigation of Witzenberg region

Daily papers headlined the disaster, 'In a night the timeless work of craftsmen destroyed, with it a heritage vanquished'.³¹¹



Fig.51. The Tulbagh Drostdy's portico collapsed during the earthquake (from Cape Times, 3 Oct 1969).

A first preliminary investigation was undertaken by a team of CPIA architects, including Fagan and Cruishank.³¹² They examined old buildings, not only in Tulbagh, but also in Ceres, Wolseley and Prince Alfred's Hamlet. It was immediately agreed that, 'the majority of the historic buildings were salvageable. Tulbagh's Church Street in particular was recognised as representing a significant collection of houses

³¹⁰ Memo from Eric Vertue for the CPIA, 5th Oct 1969 and Letter from NMC to Brigadier, both in SAHRA Archives.

³¹¹ Cape Times and Burger articles, 2 October 1969.

³¹² Fagan interview, 5 October 2016. Fagan cannot remember who else travelled with him that day but is sure that they were all members of the Institute of Architects, who had paid for the hire of the combi bus.

and presented a wonderful opportunity to really make a difference - to ensure that available funds made the most impact'.³¹³ After the investigation, Fagan called Vertue at the NMC to insist that that plaster, pieces of walling, fallen from historical buildings should not be disturbed as, when pieced together they can be measured to give information about the buildings. This concern about the preservation of measured accurate detail is typical of Fagan's conservation philosophy, a philosophy which would come to define the town's restoration.

That evening Fagan compiled a report for the CPIA entitled '*Cursory Inspection Tulbagh -Onderstraat 8/10/1969*' where he reported on his initial findings in Church Street and on the damage to each property. It would seem from the start that Fagan's concern was the 'Victorianisation' of an essentially Cape Dutch streetscape:

The majority of the houses follow a pattern suggesting converted and enlarged Cape Dutch house plans. Most have stoeps on the road side and these are roofed over in typical 19th and 20th -century fashion, many fronts boast Victorian French doors, windows and shutters. Almost all the houses have corrugated iron roofs, in general suggesting a mid-19th -century replacement of the earlier thatch, resulting like Paarl, in raised loft walls with ornamental cast iron ventilators or even small windows. Thatch survived on the pastorie, Old Church, the nearby library and two houses in the row. Aside from the pitched roofs in the main parts of the houses, there are numerous lean-to, flattish, corrugated iron roofs on many back rooms, sheds and outbuildings. Apart from one house, all show general Victorian architectural features, although some houses are in the third stage of replacement, steel windows now replacing sliding sash windows.

Fagan went on to estimate of the extent of earthquake Damage to Church Street in a document entitled '*Cursory inspection – Tulbagh – Onderstraat*'. This information has been summarised below and detailed in the individual property tables in Appendix C:

<i>Class 1</i>	<i>Minor Damage</i>	<i>Eleven buildings including pastorie and its Chapel</i>
<i>Class II</i>	<i>Moderate damage</i>	<i>Seven buildings including the library</i>
<i>Class III</i>	<i>Substantial damage</i>	<i>Five buildings including the Oudekerk</i>
<i>Class IV</i>	<i>Severe damage</i>	<i>Four buildings</i>
<i>Class V</i>	<i>Catastrophic</i>	<i>One building demolished by owner since earthquake</i>

³¹³ Fagan interview, 4 March 2014

Also inspecting Tulbagh that day were B.D. Malan and Mr. van Zyl of the NMC, along with the state engineer Mr Rubin Stander.³¹⁴ Later that day, a report on the catastrophic damage was compiled by the NMC property administrator which reads, 'there is nothing that can be done for the Tulbagh Drostdy, other than reclaiming the yellow wood ceilings and floors and that the building should be demolished into its foundations as the reconstruction costs would exceed R115 000'.³¹⁵ It is clear that despite the NMC's preservationist agenda, that the organisation was operating with a limited budget, so that even their own administrators had not considered the feasibility of restoring the Drostdy.



Fig.52. The collapsed portico of the old Drostdy building. Photo during restoration, with roof off and plaster removed (slide from Fagan archive).

Friday 3 October 1969 - All hopes on Fagan and the NMC

Across the country papers report, 'Mayors to set up quake fund',³¹⁶ 'National body to rebuild heritage'³¹⁷
³¹⁸- which at this early stage already discusses the possibility of Fagan acting on behalf of the CPIA to form a 'national' Restoration committee. Another article 'Only one can save them - Tulbagh's old houses may not be lost', talks about the sombre surreal reality of the deserted streets and tented camps.³¹⁹

The lengthy article describes the mood and sentiment in the days after the earthquake focusing on the six proclaimed Tulbagh historical monuments, as well as the four gabled farmsteads that had

³¹⁴ Letter from B.D. Malan to Mr. Preller in Pretoria (Stander would go on to found a significant engineering firm called Liebenberg and Stander.

³¹⁵ NMC report by Mr. Van der Merwe, Property Administrator, 3 Oct 1969.

³¹⁶ Natal Mercury, 3 October 1969.

³¹⁷ Burger headline, 3 October 1969.

³¹⁸ Other articles in the days papers are, 'Threat of army law in Boland...unrest in Tulbagh's coloured areas' and 'Ceres hit by new tremor', 'SA tells UN: We stand firm', will not abandon peoples of SWA, who have for half a century had placed their trust in Sato lead them on a path of progress, peace and stability'.

³¹⁹ Ibid.

suffered severe earthquake damage. Highly illustrated with images of the collapsed façade of Schoonderzicht, the article laments the loss of its beautiful front gable and warns of the threat of mass demolition:³²⁰

The article also distinguishes between the realities on the ground and the high ideological ambitions of the restoration proponents:

Few people in Tulbagh are currently thinking about the restoration of these historic and architecturally important buildings as they are sitting with far more immediate problems that have to be solved...Our first problem is food and shelter, come talk to us in a month about restoration'...but by then it will be too late because the bulldozers would by then have moved in, like a blade, cutting down the building work of 100, 200 years, undermining the buildings and tipping them over, levelling them to the ground.

The article continues about the need for preservation by drawing links between identity, heritage and the built environment:

In Tulbagh, it is important that these buildings are rebuilt because they are the core of Tulbagh's history... Take the historic buildings of Tulbagh away and it will become a town without a face, with no identity'. The good news is that the owners of 'Montpellier' have already contacted an architect to start a restoration and the owner of Twee Jonge Gezellen says that he, 'will build up the old farm house again, even if it breaks him'.

The article implies the preservationist motives of the NMC with the hope that the NMC would prove itself and save South Africa's cultural heritage:

There is only one who can stop the demolition threat; the NMC...the newly formed body which was brought to life by the government with the specific order to look after our historic possessions. It is the NMC which will now complete an inventory of damaged buildings and investigate the conservation possibilities to see where reconstruction is necessary. The eyes of many will be on the NMC to see how they handle this situation as in the past there has been a lot of criticism of the NMC of being ineffective. This gives them an opportunity to show that they can fulfil their function.

At an emergency meeting in Ceres, the Boland Emergency Relief Committee and a Government Inter-departmental Committee held discussions, with amongst others, the Mayor of Tulbagh, the Chairman of

³²⁰ Die Burger, 3 October 1969 (translation by author).

the Tulbagh Divisional Council (Mr. N.C. Krone)³²¹ and the NMC Cape Chairman (Prof. Scholtz): 'There was a strong determination that historical buildings in the area should be restored and it was requested that the NMC should form a special committee for this purpose'.³²²

Monday 6th October 1969 - Simon van der Stel issues a press release

Newspaper reports of '*Fresh tremor rocks North Boland* as more walls tumbled in at the already ruined Tulbagh Drostdy'³²³, '*Demolition arrives in Tulbagh*'³²⁴ and '*Durban council gives R25 000 to relief*'.³²⁵

The SvdS Foundation's National office in Pretoria, issued a press release which confirms that the Foundation was collaborating with the CPIA and Fagan on a Tulbagh focused restoration:

The Foundation, under the Chairmanship of Dr. S. Meiring Naude, has established an emergency fund for the restoration of buildings of architectural value and beauty in the areas damaged by earthquake in the Western Province. The allocation of funds from the Simon van der Stel Foundation Fund will be done in consultation with the committee established in Cape Town this week by the Cape Provincial Institute of Architects and other bodies.³²⁶

Wednesday 8th October 1969 - Fagan's 2nd survey and consensus for stylistic restoration

A delegation headed up by Fagan and including Cruikshank, Mrs G Mills from the Simon Van Der Stel Foundation, Hoogenhout from Historic Homes, Hans Fransen from the Stellenbosch Museum and Rubin Stander, the state engineer conducted a more detailed survey of Church Street.³²⁷ After close examination, they were relieved to find that the street in its entirety could in fact be saved.³²⁸

The 1861 panoramic photograph of Tulbagh was at the time displayed in the old Church museum. With this image in hand, a decision was quickly taken that Church Street's buildings should be restored to their appearance in the photograph / when originally constructed and in this manner the 'street as a whole could be authentically restored as a living monument', and would thus become a record of

³²¹ Mr NC Krone, main proponent. See appendix B.

³²² NMC Minutes, 5 October 1969.

³²³ Natal Mercury, 6 October 1969.

³²⁴ Pretoria News, 6 October 1969.

³²⁵ Eastern Province Herald, 6 Oct 1969.

³²⁶ CPIA memo, 6 October 1969. In Cape Archives.

³²⁷ CPIA minutes, 24 October 1969.

³²⁸ Unknown newspaper clipping, 29 September 1979. Entitled '10 years after the quake. 'In UCT archives

domestic architecture of that period.³²⁹ ³³⁰ Over the course of the day, Fagan and Hoogenhout brainstormed a strategy to bring about the restoration of Tulbagh after having earlier in the day seen that one house in Church Street having been summarily demolished by its owner. They agreed that it was essential that the NMC provisionally declare all the houses in the Street as national monuments to prevent any further demolitions.³³¹ They also agreed that a national campaign restoration was necessary and that Hoogenhout would ask the State President, B.J. Vorster to become the committee's head patron.³³²

It is already clear (only ten days after the earthquake) that most of the proponents had already reached a consensus advocating a full stylistic reconstructive restoration of properties in Church Street and Tulbagh. The restoration would accordingly be in the conservation style of the day (to-best), and all that remained was getting the NMC on board and strategising the practicalities of getting the job done properly. After his inspection of the area Fagan worked into the night to complete his press release for the CPIA entitled, 'Old Tulbagh can be saved' which reads about the history, heritage, damage to the town as well as planting the seed of hope that a national restoration strategy can save 'at least this one town' :

Tulbagh's 'Onderstraat' stretching from the Old Church Museum, begun in 1743 at the southern end, to the Parsonage of 1769 at the northern end, contains some 28 buildings; with two exceptions only, the buildings date from the 18th and 19th centuries. Although all these houses have undergone various degrees of alteration through the years, the earthquake dislodged



Fig.53. With the front gable being propped up, Ballotina, the home of Mary Cook, suffered substantial earthquake damage. Note the Victorian tin roof, veranda and boundary wall, all removed during restoration (poster from Tulbagh museum).

³²⁹ Die Burger published a richly illustrated a full page supplement entitled, 'Miracle almost finished' – and 'reports' on the day after the earthquake, with 'writers license' suspected, 13 May 1972.

³³⁰ Fagan and Fagan, *Church Street*, 9-12.

³³¹ Fagan interview, 5 October 2016.

³³² Fagan interview, 5 October 2016.

plaster along lines of weakness in the walls, thereby exposing the positions of old door and window openings, as if by X-ray, and thus revealed the history of many houses in a startling manner. Damage consists of plaster cracks mainly in West walls and bulging or in some cases collapse of gables. To those unfamiliar with the soft brick constructions of old Cape buildings, this damage would appear more severe than it actually is, and with one exception, all the houses in this street can be repaired.

A survey was also made of historic farm buildings. Some were more extensively damaged than others, but considering their cultural value hardly any were found not worth repairing. Typical among these is the old Drostdy building which has been reported as being a total loss, but where in fact the fabric is basically sound... There is a need to form a national committee to co-ordinate and fund the restoration of Tulbagh and...the NMC must ensure that absolutely no demolitions of historic buildings occur until after the complete situation has been carefully considered. The earthquake has opened our eyes for the architectural treasures we stand to lose, and that we were gradually but inexorably losing by neglect, ignorance and the gradual intrusion of unsympathetic elements. If old Tulbagh is restored with the necessary vision and preserved from future neglect, some good may have come from this tragedy.³³³

Monday 13 October 1969 - Fagan forces the hand of the NMC

The chairman of the NMC's Cape Committee, Berry D. Malan, reported back on the latest developments after his attendance in Ceres of the Boland Disaster Relief Committee. Fagan was invited to attend the NMC meeting and he submitted a sketch diagram showing the location of the historic buildings in Tulbagh village. Fagan reported that the majority of the affected buildings could be repaired fairly readily and supported the formation of a special committee to organise the restoration. Fagan felt that priority should be given to *'previously proclaimed buildings, all buildings in Onderstraat (Church Street), Dr. Marais rooms in the main street and certain farmhouses in the valley'*. Fagan emphasised the importance of the NMC immediately proclaiming Church Street a provisional national monument; however, Malan was reluctant; (Fagan remembers that Malan had initially laughed at the notion) and explained that it would take years to even declare a since property and that such a vast declaration was not a possibility. Malan rather suggested that Fagan approached Hoogenhout at HHSA to discuss the

³³³ Friday 10 October - Fagan's press release was published in the Cape newspapers as: 'Restoration in Tulbagh - much good can come from the earthquake (Die Burger)' and 'Tulbagh can rise like the old Jerusalem (Die Burger)', while in the other provinces, papers reported, 'Boland shakes again (The Star)', 'Boland fruit crop ruined by hail' (Natal Mercury)', 'Community Chest raise funds' (Pretoria news) and 'SA expelled from world postal union due to racial policies' (Natal Mercury).

establishment of a special restoration committee. Malan hoped that Hoogenhout would accept the position of Chairman of such a restoration committee.³³⁴

Fagan describes his concern after the meeting of the NMC's lack of urgency in the proclamation matter and thus decided to 'take a chance' in order to expedite the matter. Although Fagan had not yet heard back from Hoogenhout in relation to their request to the Prime Minister for patronage, Fagan approached Malan saying that Hoogenhout had in fact already spoken to Vorster and that he had agreed to patronage and the necessity of 'freezing' the street. Shortly afterwards, Fagan repeated this story to a reporter from the Burger, stressing that although Vorster had agreed to the necessity of 'freezing' the street the NMC were reluctant to do so.³³⁵ Later that day however, realising that he may have 'gone too far', Fagan contacted Hoogenhout to enquire if Vorster had yet been approached, to which Hoogenhout had replied that he had been unable to contact the Prime Minister! After the call, however, Hoogenhout contacted Vorster (at his holiday house) and Vorster had 'immediately' agreed to the role of head patron.

Tuesday 14th October 1969 - National political support for the restoration of Tulbagh

While the daily papers reported: '*Tremor chaos in Tulbagh*'³³⁶ and '*When Cape town trembled in 1809*', Prof. Scholtz and Erik Vertue, (Chairman and Secretary of the CPIA) met with Hoogenhout in Stellenbosch to discuss the proposed restoration committee with all role players. At the start of the meeting Hoogenhout informed them that he had in-fact taken steps to organise a national committee and had already garnered the support of the Prime Minister, along with the deputy national chairman of the SvdS Foundation Mr. F.D. Conradie, who had agreed to act as chairman of a Tulbagh restoration committee.

In this meeting, both Fagan and Hoogenhout regarded the restoration of Church Street in Tulbagh as their first priority ahead of other affected areas. Hoogenhout was most insistent that the NMC must take immediate steps to 'freeze' the properties in Church Street, 'to prevent the residents demolishing their properties'. Discussions followed on the work to be done and the means of doing it; however, this was not included in the minutes.³³⁷ It was later confirmed that following the Prime Minister's example, the administrators of the four provinces (and SWA/Namibia), had also agreed to accept provincial patronage of the national committee.³³⁸

³³⁴ Cape Regional Committee Minutes, 13 Oct 1969.

³³⁵ Fagan and Fagan interview, 5 Oct 16.

³³⁶ Pretoria News, 14 Oct 1969. Both articles in same paper and with images of collapsed buildings.

³³⁷ NMC Meeting minutes, 14 October 1969. In SAHRA File.

³³⁸ Minutes of first TRC meeting, 11 November 1969.

During the day (as motivated politicians do) the Prime Minister inspected the three disaster towns by helicopter and then sent a motivational message from Ceres: ‘...the stricken area will receive the government’s full support... it is the State’s duty to help these people’. He called on the owners of historic buildings in the area to not be hasty in demolishing their buildings but wait until after investigations. Furthermore it had come to his attention that ‘influential people’ wanted to establish a fund for this specific goal, and that this ‘carried his full support’.³³⁹

Wednesday 15th October 1969 - The NMC get on board

When the morning Burger article appeared about the president’s patronage of the Tulbagh restoration and the NMC’s reluctance to proclaim Church Street, Malan ‘got a terrible fright’ and quickly started procedures.³⁴⁰ In Tulbagh, however, after reading that their houses were going to be proclaimed, the uninformed residents of Church Street were furious, ‘up in arms’. Consequently the NMC contacted Fagan, telling him to ‘immediately’ go to Tulbagh and explain the situation to the Church Street residents.³⁴¹

Thursday 16th October 1969 - The Fagans meet with Church Street residents

Gwen and Gawie Fagan, along with Hoogenhout and Froneman meet with the anxious residents of Church Street. At the meeting the owners/residents were given the option of either having their houses restored at no cost to them or bought out at market value. The residents ‘calmed down’ when they realised that they could not lose. Although roughly half the owners realised the financial benefit to having their houses restored by the committee, the other half opted to rather move away and thus chose to sell their houses to the restoration committee.^{342 343}

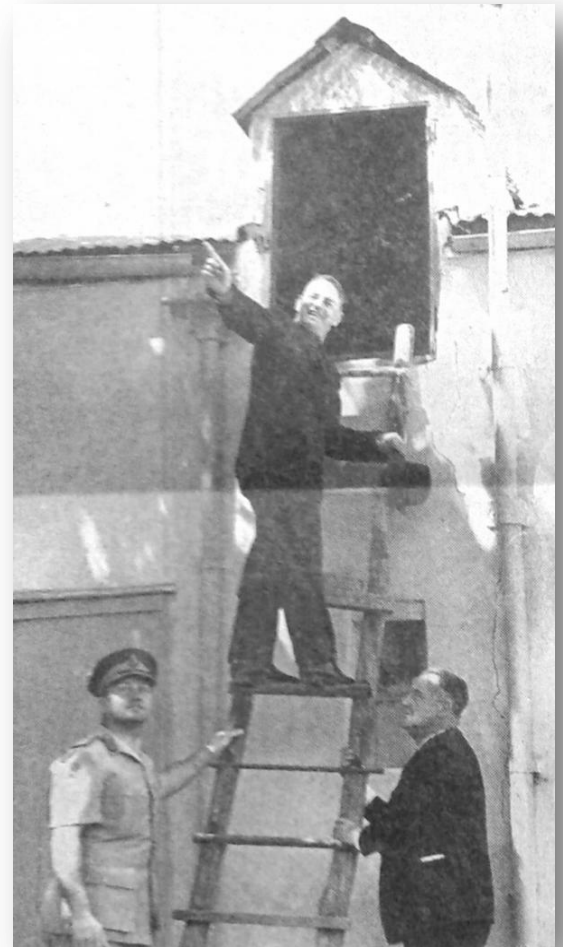


Fig.54. Punt and Naude from the Simon Van Der Stel Foundation, as well as Brig. Jannie Fourie inspect Tulbagh.

³³⁹ Die Burger, 14 October 1969.

³⁴⁰ Fagan interview, September 2016.

³⁴¹ Fagan interview, Sept 2016.

³⁴² Fagan interview, September 2016. The residents meeting might have taken place the next day, no paper record was found.

Monday 20th October 1969 – Simon van der Stel Foundation inspect Tulbagh

Willem Punt and Meiring Naude from the Simon Van Der Stel Foundation, as well as Brig. Jannie Fourie flew from Pretoria to inspect Tulbagh. Naude later commented: 'Tulbagh's pulling force has always been its historical old buildings which are not something that we can just let go of. This is a national disaster that has to be fixed on a national level. These buildings must be taken back to their original form, as far as possible, replacing tin roofs with traditional thatch roofs'.³⁴⁴

Tuesday 21st October 1969 - NMC initiates provisional proclamation of Tulbagh sites

During the day, the NMC sent registered letters to each of the owners of the houses in Church Street as well as the farms in the valley which were to be restored to inform them that these buildings were to be provisionally proclaimed for a period of three years, as national monuments.^{345 346}

The NMC is deeply concerned about the restoration of buildings of historical and architectural importance which have been damaged by the disastrous earthquake in the Western Province. As you are aware, urgent steps are being taken to provide advice and, where necessary, practical assistance to the owners concerned and the NMC is doing all it can to promote these efforts. There can be no doubt that the houses in 'Onderstraat', also known as Church Street, in Tulbagh, will constitute a most valuable cultural possession of the whole country when they have been properly restored and should certainly not be allowed to disappear or be altered or rebuilt indiscriminately.³⁴⁷

Amongst the response letters sent from property owners to the NMC over the following months were mostly appeals from concerned affected residents and well as one of support from Mary Cook.³⁴⁸

³⁴³ TRC minutes, 10 March 1971. Confirmation that of the 27 properties in the project, the committee has bought 16 and the other 11 owners have given permission for their house to be restored. The rest of the minutes are about servitudes, brick production and fundraising.

³⁴⁴ Die Burger, 22 October 1969.

³⁴⁵ Letter from BD Malan, Secretary of the NMC, to the owner of House 24 Church Street, 21 October 1969.

³⁴⁶ The first 24 'sub-joined' Tulbagh properties were published in the Government Gazette some five months later, on the leap day 29 Feb of 1970.

³⁴⁷ Ballotina File in SAHRA Archives.

³⁴⁸ Summaries are provided in Appendix D

Thursday 23rd October 1969 – Fagan’s official NMC appointment and work starts

In an appointment letter titled ‘damage to historic and architecturally important buildings resulting from the Tulbagh earthquake’, the secretary of the NMC, B.D. Malan, offered Fagan the job of official ‘architectural advisor to the NMC for the Tulbagh restoration’ and access to a limited NMC grant. The letter mentions that the ‘disaster fund’ is for basic housing only and that other projects will have to be covered by ‘special funds’. Mention is made of available insurance money for some damaged properties as well as contributions from individual building’s owners, the rest of which will be found elsewhere.³⁴⁹

With Fagan’s appointment/contract confirmed by the NMC, he immediately got down to work. Substantial research was initiated and thorough investigations as well as measurements of every property undertaken. A detailed restoration plan was quickly produced, initially for the front elevations of the street and thereafter for the individual ground plans of every house.

Owing to lack of photographic records and drawings, Fagan based his ‘master plan’ on a drawings by Burchell (1811) and two early photographs taken from the hillside overlooking Tulbagh (1861 and 1895). The existence of the 1861 panoramic photograph in particular convinced Fagan that Church Street offered a unique opportunity for historically accurate restorations.³⁵⁰

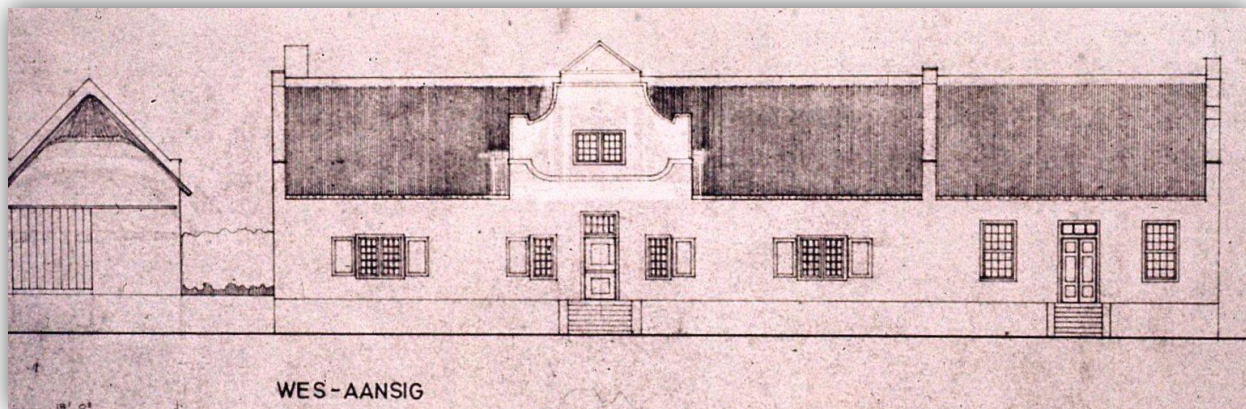


Fig.55. Fagan's elevation, gable and fenestration design for the reconstructed facade of House 24, Church Street (Slide from Fagan archive).

³⁴⁹ NMC Letter from BD Malan to Gawie Fagan, 23 October 1969. In SAHRA archive. It would seem that this is contrary to what eventually happened in that the Boland Disaster Committee did in fact end up contributing almost R85 000 to the Church Street restoration, an amount making up almost 13% of the total restoration budget.

³⁵⁰ Fagan interview, 5 October 2016.

These photographs provided the 'outlines of the gables' and from this Fagan derived a starting point for the restoration.³⁵¹ ³⁵² 'We had the outlines of the gables, but this would make no sense just to build the profile (this would give the wrong impression), so we researched each family who had owned the houses and though this process found the details from family examples. Families tended to replicate family gables. Exposed brick work below broken or removed plaster confirmed the earlier positioning and sizes of earlier doors and windows'.³⁵³

Three separate contractors were thereafter appointed by the Fagans, so that restoration work commenced only a few months after the earthquake.³⁵⁴ As the spade work proceeded, the Committee realised that the homes in this street formed such a valuable cultural heritage that as far as possible, all the buildings should be returned to their original form, with concessions made mostly for inside bathrooms and toilets.³⁵⁵ 'It was a long process', said Gwen Fagan, who worked closely with her husband on the project. 'A building has to be treated like a historic document. You cannot change it in any way. You cannot rephrase it or you would be guilty of falsifying.'³⁵⁶

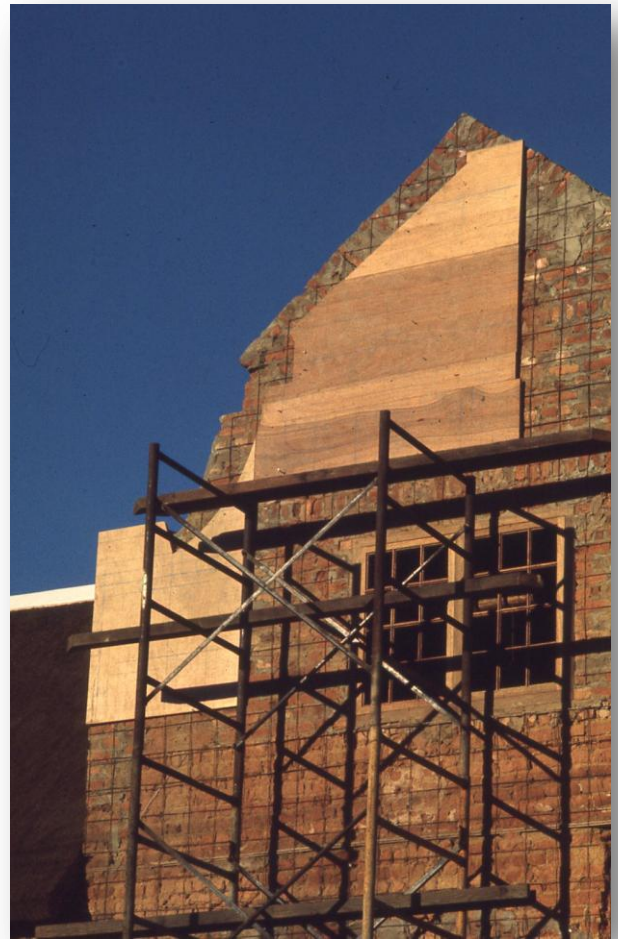


Fig.56. With scaffolding and the gable template in place, the plaster mouldings of House 24 were fashioned by skilled craftsman using traditional techniques (slide from Fagan archive).

Fagan's statement seems contrary based on their transformative intervention in Tulbagh. The Fagans (indeed the South African conservation community) clearly had a very different understanding of 'building as document', to that contained within the Charters and international conservation protocols. In contradiction to the Fagans, the international 'document' approach valued historic architectural layering.

³⁵¹ Fagan and Fagan, *Church Street*, 52.

³⁵² Darke, "Afrikaner Nationalism," 44.

³⁵³ Fagan interview 2014. Gwen says that she went to Tulbagh virtually every week for the duration of the restoration progress to check on progress, while Gawie came up monthly

³⁵⁴ TRC minutes.

³⁵⁵ Fagan and Fagan, *Church Street*, 11.

³⁵⁶ "Race against time," Cape Times, 12 March 1974.

The Fagans transformation of Church Street ensured that the individual buildings were not treated as a historic documents at all and were largely stripped back to reconstruct their hypothetical 'original' form - hardly an accurate historic document.

Friday 24th October 1969 - CPIA and Historic Homes approve Fagans strategy

In the morning Fagan gave a full progress report to the Civic Vigilance Sub-committee of the CPIA, chaired by Mike Munnik (of Munnik Visser) and with Revel Fox in attendance. In addition they discussed and approved Fagan's earlier press releases and another from Historic Homes.

Later that day, Hoogenhout released Historic Homes' press release (largely based on that of Fagan) which read: 'The unique opportunity to restore and reconstruct the whole of Church Street in Tulbagh back to into its original form (has presented itself). In this way it will be historically married with the past...with help we will put a heritage right which will have no comparison in the Boland and possibly not in the whole of South Africa'.³⁵⁷



Fig.57. With its gable propped up, Gwen and Gawie Fagan inspect progress during the demolition phase of the restoration of House 42 (Slide from Fagan archive).

³⁵⁷ SvdS Foundation press release. In Cape Archives – CPIA files. The letter reads that although the disaster area had not yet been defined, there were a number of properties outside of the town that Fagan was requested to report on. This included the government-owned Kluitjieskraal near Wolseley, the Mission Church of Wellington and the Thatched Church of Paarl.

4 November 1969 - Simon van der Stel Foundation approve Fagan's strategy

The National body of the SvdS Foundation, supported by their regional committees, sends a second emotive and urgent 'newsletter' to its members appealing for support their 'disaster fund with cash contributions'. The appeal reads:

A disaster has overtaken our priceless Cape Dutch heritage. Much of South Africa's White Walled Beauty in Tulbagh, Ceres, Worcester and Wolseley has been destroyed or damaged by an earthquake. From the ashes and the debris of this calamity our national heritage must rise again. To make this possible the Council of the Simon van der Stel Foundation has established a fund for the reconstruction or restoration of our Cape gables in the stricken area. The Council, members and friends of the Foundation wish to make a major contribution to the resurrection of our architectural beauty in the Western Province. R6 800 has already been contributed (in the month since the earthquake) and that the foundation) had already acquired a damaged Cape Dutch gabled house (1790) at 22 Church Street which would be restored.³⁵⁸

The November issue of the SvdS Foundation Journal carried an article, 'Tulbagh Rising', which uses emotive and almost poetic language to clearly identify the organisations motives for their role in the Tulbagh restoration:

From the ashes of South Africans worst earthquake rise the old buildings of Tulbagh, as in a dream haunted by distant memories, they appear in groups down Church Street, recapturing the spirit of the past with such emphasis that it is difficult to believe they had ever been disturbed. Church Street. Because of what Tulbagh means to people with an acute feeling for the past, the town suddenly become the emotional focal point of the whole disaster... It was a tragic episode, yet in the dust and rubble of Church Street, lay the seeds of hope and renewal.

The article goes on to allude to the SvdS Foundation's conservation philosophy as well as making overtures towards the harmonious existence of Cape Dutch and Victorian (Afrikaans and English) architecture in Church Street, a tone that rings of the nation-building ideologies of the SvdS Foundation.

Victorianisation can sometimes result in real period-pieces in their own right, with decorative cast-iron or timber fretwork. However, when original doors and windows are replaced with more up to date joinery, the result always spoils the harmoniums proportion of the original

³⁵⁸ SvdS Foundation press release (4 November 1969) in Cape Archives – CPIA files.

design. The essence of old Church Street architecture has remained standing side by side with a few examples of true Victorian architecture. The restoration will be the greatest single conservation tackled in this country, and is expected to make a breakthrough that will prompt other towns to rescue small clusters of old houses too.³⁵⁹

After the earthquake, the SvdS foundation would purchase and restore two houses in the precinct. Naude and Punt offered Fagan the job of restoring their properties in January 1970.³⁶⁰ In their letter to Fagan they request the reproduction of historical detail in the restoration of their property:

We want to give these two historical buildings a proud restoration and we are well aware of your great creative and practice work on the Company House in the Gardens. We request the use of all the best materials and most attractive decorations within the house, including brass doorknobs and Dutch tiles.³⁶¹

Tuesday 11 November 1969 - Inaugural meeting of the Tulbagh Restoration Committee

The inaugural meeting of the 'National Committee for the Reconstruction and Restoration of Damaged Historical Buildings in Tulbagh and Surrounds' or as it came to be called 'Tulbagh Restoration Committee' (TRC), was held in the Provincial Administration Building in Wale Street, Cape Town.³⁶²

A team of professional and conservation specialists came together and, based on their individual knowledge, skills and experience, mutually appointed each other and even self-appointed themselves to either the restoration or works committees. In this way a 'hands-on local' Tulbagh Works Committee with full executive powers was duly established / elected by the National TRC to implement a plan of action in regard to the restoration of damaged historic buildings, streetscapes and groups of buildings.³⁶³ Imker Hoogenhout (from Historical Homes) headed up the TRC and head architect Gawie Fagan headed up

³⁵⁹ Simon van der Stel Foundation Bulletin 20 (October 1969), 29.

³⁶⁰ The SvdS Foundation purchased House 22 Church Street- from a private owner, and House 35 Van der Stel -from the Tulbagh Town Council. The council had owned the building since it had been donated to them by Lady Beck for use as the local library. It is interesting to note or suggest that the Tulbagh municipality must have opted out of being involved with the restoration or even allowing the TRC to restore this property at TRC expense. Perhaps it was 'simpler' from all sides that the Tulbagh town council rather sell this property to the SvdS Foundation, after all it was the same town council that had recently demolished the provisionally proclaimed building in Waveren Street and the same Mayor of Tulbagh (Du Toit) who had also demolished his historic La Rhone farmstead.

³⁶¹ Despite these requests for the best materials, on inspection it seems that this house was not restored with wooden floors like the rest of the precinct and thus has concrete floors throughout and not a Dutch tile in sight. One can only speculate about this deviation.

³⁶² The Fagans have copies of every TSC meeting's agenda and minutes. The Whale Street Provincial Administration building would be the venue of most of the subsequent four years of TRC quarterly meetings.

³⁶³ TRC minutes, 11 December 1969. In SAHRA Archives

the works committee.³⁶⁴ The national TRC, which incorporated some of South Africa's most influential conservation professionals and benefactors and represented conservation bodies, cultural organisations, political and business interests, was formally established and constitution agreed upon. The Committees were structured as follows, (with the TRC Executive 'Works committee' / main proponents blocked off in grey):³⁶⁵

TRC General Committee³⁶⁶ (incorporated the TRC works committee, shaded below)

The honourable Prime Minister Mr. B.J. Vorster	Head patron
The honourable administrators of the five provinces	Provincial patrons ³⁶⁷

MR. F.D. Conradie	Chairman	MEC/Cape Provincial Cabinet Minister
	Chairman	LUK, (Lid van Uitvoerende Komitee - Kaap)
		Deputy National Chairman of SvdS Foundation

Mr. Imker Hoogenhout	Convenor	M.D of HHSA and Member SvdS Foundation
Mr. Gerhard Froneman	Secretary	Historical Homes of South Africa ³⁶⁸
Mr. Imker Hoogenhout	Convenor	M.D of HHSA and Member SvdS Foundation
Mr. Gawie Fagan		CPIA
		Vernacular Architectural Society
Dr. Gwen Fagan		Landscaper (Historian)
Mr. Eric S. Vertue		NMC & CPIA (Admin)
Mr. N.C. Krone		Tulbagh Town Council (chairman)
Mr. Hans Fransen		Stellenbosch museums (historian and curator)

Mr. Dirk Visser	Acclaimed restoration architect and chairman of CPIA ³⁶⁹
Mr. Rubin Stander	Director of Liebenberg and Stander Engineers
	Also representing the SA Institute of Engineers
Prof. F. Smuts	Simon van der Stel Foundation, Stellenbosch Branch
Prof. J. Scholtz	Chairman of the Cape branch of NMC

³⁶⁴ Fagan Interview, 4 March 2014

³⁶⁵ Fagan and Fagan, *Church Street*, 176. A list of TRC members exists in Fagan's book. The details about each proponent's position and the organisation(s) that they represented was determined from various other TRC documents found in the Fagans archive.

³⁶⁶ Fagan and Fagan, *Church Street*, 11

³⁶⁷ Administrator of the OFS, (understandably) never attended any TRC meetings, always gave apologies. It is interesting to further note that Vorster intended this to be a nation-building project that included the fifth 'province' of SWA/Namibia.

³⁶⁸ Took over from Mr W. Malherbe.

³⁶⁹ The Fagans don't recall Visser ever attending a TRC meeting and are not sure why he is acknowledged in the Fagan book (email from Gwen Fagan, Sept 2016).

Mr. B.D. Malan	Cape regional committee of the NMC
Mr. L. Fouché	Department of Community Development (Cape)
Mr. W. Marais	Department of Community Development (Pretoria)
Dr. A.E. Rupert	Historic Homes and Rembrandt Group (Apologies always)
Dr. H. Reinach	Mayor of Ceres
Dr. Mary Cook	Director/curator Swellendam museum, historian and Tulbagh resident
Dr. A.J. du Toit (André)	Chairman of K.W.V. wines (Apologies all but once)
Dr. W.H.J. Punt	National Director of SvdS Foundation (Pretoria)
Mr. G. J. Roux	Historic Homes of SA (PR, editing, publishing)
Mr. A. Du Toit (Andries)	Mayor of Tulbagh and owner of Le Rhone farm in Tulbagh
Dr. W. de Kock	SA Open Library
Brigadier J. Fourie	SA Army

Significant minutes and agreements resulting from this meeting were:

- The constitution described the primary objectives of the Tulbagh Restoration Committee as: To help ensure that the historical and traditional character of old Tulbagh and surrounds are not just preserved, but while the opportunity exists recreated to its original 'pure' (skoonheid) appearance by means of a full, correct and careful restoration.³⁷⁰
- In terms of its constitution, the committee's head office would be the offices of Historical Homes in Stellenbosch. The constitution specifies the administrative, legal and financial procedures of the Works Committee, who are 'to carry out the objectives of the National Committee' and are 'thereby authorised to proceed in the name of the National Committee'. In this way the Works Committee became responsible for future decision-making in virtually all respects of the restoration and the National committee relegated themselves to a national figurehead role who would meet four times a year in Cape Town.
- The appointment of Fagan Architects (as recommended by the Works Committee) to be responsible to the National Committee for drawing up of plans, elevations, and the distribution of technical advice. It was noted that Fagan should as quickly as possible make complete recordings of all the houses involved in the restoration of Church Street and produce a report about the extent of the damage, the costs of repair/rebuilding and the costs of 'correct'

³⁷⁰ Constitution of TRC, 11 November 1969. In Fagan's archives.

restoration... Fagan was also requested to provide a provisional illustrative scheme of the restored Church Street as soon as possible.

- It was further agreed to appoint a competent advertising company which, in conjunction with the Fagans, would produce a publicity brochure. It was specified that this brochure was to have 'images of both damaged houses as well as drawings of the proposed reconstructed streetscape'. The brochure would at first be used to convince the owners of the affected houses of the value and advantages of restoration of their properties and thereafter be used for fundraising. More about fundraising later.
- An audit company was appointed to oversee the fundraising and accounting.
- The TRC might purchase 'certain' properties in the street that might become available for restoration, which would be resold to interested people.
- The owners of these restored houses must agree to the proclamation of their properties as National Monuments.

Over the next days, the press report on the establishment of the TRC as: 'Measure to rebuild quake properties'³⁷¹ and 'National body to restore Tulbagh'.³⁷² The popular *Fair Lady* magazine ran a five-page article entitled 'Aftermath', while the Boland Disaster Committee initiated weekly publication called *The Courier*.³⁷³ The first highly illustrated issue dramatically re-reported and summarised the 'decimation' to Tulbagh's historical monuments, Drostdy and gabled farm houses.³⁷⁴

Thursday 11th December 1969 – First and subsequent meetings of the 'National' TRC

Fagan reported on his initial CPIA inspection of around 20 other significant earthquake-damaged farm houses in the Tulbagh and Wolseley area. It was agreed to give advice to and assist the owners of these

³⁷¹ Eastern Province Herald, 11 November 1969.

³⁷² Cape Times, 12 November 1969.

³⁷³ The first of ten community newspapers running from Friday 14th November 1969 to 10th January 1970. The editions which were produced and printed by Caltex Oil SA served as a communications medium between the authorities responsible for the rehabilitation of the stricken area and the people of the Witzenberg valley. The newspaper's logo was in the form of a map of the affected Boland towns within the profile of a Hol-Bol gable contour and the commemorative cover supplied with the final edition was dramatically illustrated with a large photo of the earthquake-shattered Drostdy building, announcing that this and other historic buildings in the area and going to be 'completely restored.'

³⁷⁴ After the 12th November 1969, few 'Tulbagh earthquake' related articles appear in South African papers. Other than 'Prefab towns rise from quake ruins³⁷⁴', the focus of the country, indeed the world was, 'All systems go for moon flight', '250 000 stage Anti-Vietnam piece protest in Washington', 'World stands still for moon landing drama', 'Reports of American atrocities in Vietnam' and 'Suez canal crisis.' Anti Springbok and apartheid campaigns in the UK and Israeli planes bomb Jordan.

properties with the correct restoration of their buildings as far as available funds would allow.³⁷⁵ At this meeting Fagan handed out copies of the historic Tulbagh panoramic photo which the committee agreed would prove very useful in the restoration effort. Fagan reported having completed the measurements of all the buildings in the street and was currently busy determining which parts of each building were original.³⁷⁶

Newspapers from the 1970s - The opinion of the popular Press / White population

16th July 1970 - Cape Times reports 'Boland's Williamsburg is taking shape', and discusses the architect's plan to produce South Africa's own Colonial Williamsburg, the plans of which should shortly come up for approval at the NMC:

What makes this project so rewarding is that the finished street will be architecturally and historically a far more interesting place than before the disaster - a half-mile row of perfectly restored 18th and 19th-century thatched homes ranging in style from Cape Dutch to Victorian. To obtain authenticity for the scheme, the restoration is based on a 1860s photograph of the thatched and gabled street, an estimated half million bundles of thatch will be used to complete the picture. To ensure that the project is a resounding success, it is necessary to restore all the houses in the street.³⁷⁷



Fig.58. The new roof structure above the kitchen of House 24, Owing to Fagan's concern about detail and authenticity, the new thatch roof structures were built without nails or bolts, using traditional carpentry methods (slide from Fagan archive).

³⁷⁵ Minutes of NMC, 26 November 1969. Chairman reported that Government would probably grant financial aid for the restoration of historically important properties, provided that the NMC is prepared to recommend their proclamation. It was agreed to appoint a committee consisting of the Chairman, Prof. Scholtz and Mr. Vertue to investigate the matter and to decide which buildings are worthy of proclamation, with authority to co-opt further members with power to act, and to request Fagan to prepare a preliminary list of such properties. It was further agreed that all owners who had been given notice of immediate provisional proclamation be given priority in regards to temporary housing SAHRA archives.

³⁷⁶ First meeting was held at the Stellenbosch Museum.

20 October 1971 - NMC issues an internal report on the proclamation and restoration status of some 39 listed Tulbagh buildings to be included in the 'official' restoration.^{378 379} Many of these properties would be permanently proclaimed in August 1972 as reported in the press: 'Old street becomes museum'³⁸⁰ 'Many monuments suggested' and 'The 24 restored homes in Church Street'.^{381 382}



Fig.59. The Fagans and their building teams survey the reconstructed walls and positioning of period joinery at House 22 (slide from Fagan archive).

³⁷⁷ The Argus, 13 April 1970. A substantial tremor alarms the Western Cape, following which various papers report the anxiety and difficulties of the people in the area who were still busy trying to rebuild their lives. 'Tremors are God's call', says the NG Church Council which called on 'every individual and the Nation as a whole that they may acknowledge their sins before God. 'These are difficult times, like those of our forefathers who trekked north into the wilderness, who fought against nature and overcame the odds. Together the people in the disaster area must be strong like our Voortrekker forefathers, with will and drive we can show the world that we can rebuild our farms and town – no matter what.

³⁷⁸ NMC General Report, 20 October 1971. In SAHRA Archives (3/K/A/5). In addition to these proclamations, in 1980 the undeveloped garden plots below Church Street were declared National Monuments to 'protect their undeveloped character'.

³⁷⁹ NMC minutes, 9 April 1974. Confirms that all but three proclamations have been finalized and bronze badges installed.

³⁸⁰ Die Burger, 29 September 1973.

³⁸¹ Die Burger, August 1972.

³⁸² Die Burger, 12 March 1974. In UCT archives. Chairman of the SA photographic Union and member of the NMC in UCT. 11th March 1974, Eric Vertue opened an exhibition entitled '*Tulbagh – '74*', in the Shell building in Cape Town. The photographs of John Warner showcased the restored Tulbagh buildings. Warner had previously done a series of photographs of the shortly after the earthquake as well as during the restoration of Die Burger called it 'Wonder of Tulbagh' and drew comparisons between the exhibition and the work of Arthur Elliot, who had made it his life's work to document Cape architecture.

Monday 14 February 1972 – The presidential inspection of work in progress

The TRC participated in an inspection/tour down Church Street, which was then still under construction, with the then Prime Minister Adv. B.J. Vorster and his party. After the tour Vorster gave thanks to the committee and its supporters (singling out Fagan and Hoogenhout) and told them that:

...they had earned honour for their role in one of the most attractive pieces of work done in the country for many years... when the restoration work is completed, Tulbagh will have something unique, without comparison to any other town in the whole Republic of South Africa... Thank you for the contributions that have made this beautiful recreation in Church Street Tulbagh a reality... We go away stronger today, with joy and praise, in the knowledge that what you are doing here, will be beautiful and will stand here as a monument forever.³⁸³

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Fig.60. House 32 showing the amount of new material used versus old fabric retained, with a fully reconstructed gable and middle façade of new brick (slide from Fagan archive).

Fagan addressed the delegation, reading out the extract from his father's 1953 essay in which senator Fagan reminisced about the beauty of Church Street and its proposed proclamation. At the inauguration, Gwen Fagan admitted to the reporter that 'consciously or sub-consciously Gawie had probably been conditioned by his father's feelings about the Street'.³⁸⁵ After the inspection Vorster's party departed and the TRC met in the chapel of the NG parsonage for a well attended committee meeting of 17 members and guests including the Administrator of the Cape.³⁸⁶

³⁸³ NMC minutes and TRC minutes, 14 Feb 1972.

³⁸⁴ The presidential party included the Administrator of the Cape Mr AH Vosloo, Mr, Frans Conratloe, MEC, Mr Piet Marais, MP for Moorreesburg, the Mayor of Tulbagh, Mr AJ du Toit.

³⁸⁵ Cape Times, 16 February 1972.

³⁸⁶ Congratulations were offered to Dr Mary Cook who had, since the last TRC meeting, completed her Doctoral thesis at Stellenbosch University (FIND THIS).

Thursday 14th March 1974 - the inauguration of Church Street

Hoogenhout gives an account of the inauguration of a restored Church Street³⁸⁷

When an entire street is resurrected from its ruins and restored to its former glory there is reason for rejoicing. The grand state occasion was attended by VIPs, dignitaries and politicians, a total of 362 guests from all provinces. From England, Ireland, Germany, Belgium, Holland, Canada and Japan. The guests were brought to Tulbagh (with much ceremony and period pageantry), aboard a specially commissioned train from Cape Town via Stellenbosch and Paarl.³⁸⁸

In a 'stirring address' in both languages, Prime Minister Vorster commends Cape Dutch architecture and makes the nation-building aims and overtly political nature of the Tulbagh restoration become apparent:³⁸⁹



Fig.61. Vorster and the first lady arrive via period carriage at the inaugural celebration (in Fagan, 1975, 172).

Tulbagh, like the legendary Phoenix, in glistening form has arisen from the ashes... It is indeed a privilege to stand in front of a gratefully fulfilled act of faith, the sparkling result of focused idealism and effective perseverance, the most effective proof of co-ordinated action in conservation in our country's history. A valuable gift of heritage has been entrusted to us. How fortunate that it was this particular street that could by force of circumstance be singled out for complete restoration – here one finds such a happy blending of different styles and periods of architecture, all bearing the hall-mark of authenticity. This is the architectural unity

³⁸⁷ Hoogenhout in Fagan and Fagan, *Church Street*, 172. (These plaques were subsequently stolen in 1995 along with the Danie Theron Statue. The statue was returned to the Museum in November 2015 at the same time that the #Rhodes-must-fall campaign successfully toppled the statue of Rhodes at the UCT upper campus.) The garden of remembrance was at the time owned by the Tulbagh municipality, which subsequently sold the building and the new owners walled in the garden of remembrance in 2009 as their private garden.

³⁸⁸ Fagan and Fagan, *Church Street*, 172.

³⁸⁹ Buttgens, "Caste of Good Hope".

is ideal – unity of scale and proportion, of material and construction, of symmetry and harmony.³⁹⁰



Fig.62. Vorster congratulates the TRC after the inauguration. From left to right: Mr F.D. Conradie MEC, chairman, G.L. Froneman, I.M. Hoogenhout, W.W.B. Haveman (Natal), Prime Minister Vorster, A.H. Vosloo (Cape), J.P. van der Spuy (Minister of National education), S.G.J. van Niekerk (Transvaal), B.J. van der Walt (South West Africa), Mr Rino Brochetto, Mr E. Virtue, G Fagan and N.C. Krone (in Fagan, *Church Street*, 173).

In his speech, Vorster made reference to Sir Meiring Beck and Norman Eaton who had enthusiastically extolled the virtues of Cape Dutch in general and the Tulbagh Drostdy in particular:

Look at those walls - built not only for time, but for eternity, because those early colonists were building for the future greatness of South Africa. They came to stay! ...in all humility, ladies and gentlemen, but with the greatest determination in the world, I say today to a hostile world outside: we in South Africa are here to stay.³⁹¹ When looking around us at these buildings, restored to their pristine glory, we realise that they form not only a proud link with the past, but stand as living memorials to those brave Colonists who settled in and tamed Het Land van Waveren. Let us always remember that our historical buildings are not only big tourist

³⁹⁰ Vorster in Fagan and Fagan, *Church Street*, 172. Vorster also took a moment to express solidarity with the stricken communities along the Orange River, Fish River and Sundays River affected by severe flooding at the time. To these victims of 'another' natural disaster, Vorster shared with the nation, the Tulbagh message of standing and working together to rebuild.

³⁹¹ State President's inaugural speech in Tulbagh, 14 March 1974.

attractions... more than just tradition... these buildings are a visible, tangible history. These buildings are an important indication of our level of civilisation and a convincing proof for a judgmental critical world - that for more than 300 years a structured and proper Western civilisation has flourished and exist here at the southern point of Africa. The visible tracks of our cultural heritage are our historic buildings... they are undoubtedly the deeds to the land we love and which God in his mercy gave to us.³⁹²



Fig.63. With the period illusion only disturbed by a pair of sunglasses, Church Street is inaugurated with consumed interpreters (slide from Fagan archive).

³⁹² Fagan and Fagan, *Church Street*, 173. After the president's speech Mr. F.D. Conradie, MEC and chairman of the TRC, expressed gratitude to 'these devoted friends and benefactors of our town who have given us one of the foremost tourist attractions in the country and a cultural heritage second to none'. Professor Erica Theron, who was born in Tulbagh (Gawie Fagan's aunt) finally paid tribute on behalf of former residents of the town. It will be remembered that Prof. Theron, when she was Mayor of Stellenbosch, had spoken at the 1959 Preservation symposium. After the speeches the Prime Minister, accompanied by members of the Works Committee, thereafter unveiled the bronze commemoration plaques erected in a garden of remembrance in Church Street.

1972 - The Oudekerk reopens, Drostdy re-inaugurated and professional medals won

On 26 October 1972 newspapers reported: 'Tulbagh museum opens after three years'. Mr. A.H. Vosloo, the Administrator of the Cape, opened the repaired and restored 'Ou Volksmuseum' which had been closed since the earthquake.³⁹³

In October 1974 'Tulbagh Drostdy was reopened'³⁹⁴, five years and eight days after the quake and is re-inaugurated by the Minister of National Education, Mr. J.P. van der Spuy. The building, which was restored by the NMC at a cost of R95 000, was then handed over to the Drostdy Wine Cellars to be used as their headquarters and wine museum 'as a historical amenity, preserved for the future'. The completion of the Drostdy marked the provisional end of the restoration work in Tulbagh. It was therefore a fitting occasion for the NMC to present its highest award to four people who worked with such 'cheery dedication and imaginative enthusiasm to turn Church Street into a charming authentic showpiece street of the previous century'.

Gold medals were awarded to Gawie and Gwen Fagan, Hoogenhout and Froneman.³⁹⁵ Brochetto the master builder was recognised for his achievements in both the Church Street and Drostdy projects.

The following week, at the 1974 AGM of the CPIA, the chair commenced with '...the year saw the successful completion of a fine conservation project in Tulbagh, and the honouring of Fagan, conveyor of our Urban Vigilance committee, with the gold medal of the NMC. In the light of many set-backs in the field of conservation, it is important to recall that this institute acted promptly by sending representatives



Fig.64. The gable of the old Church had withstood the force of the earthquake and only needed some repair. Note the pillars of the main portal still without their urns (slide from Fagan archive).

³⁹³ Die Burger, 26 November 1972. Clipping in UCT archive.

³⁹⁴ Cape Times, 8 October 1974.

³⁹⁵ Fagan and Fagan, *Church Street*, 8.

to Tulbagh immediately after the disaster, and that it was largely due to the efforts of these representatives that such a satisfactory result was achieved'.³⁹⁶

At the CPIA's 1975 AGM, Fagan was awarded a bronze medal for an 'outstanding contribution to architecture in the Cape province' and, in particular, for excellent restoration work undertaken of the buildings in Church Street Tulbagh. Lauded as: 'A triumph in conservation in SA and a milestone in the cultural life of a country'. Also at the AGM, for his contribution to conservation, Dr Anton Rupert became the first recipient of the CPIA annual award for outstanding contributions to the built environment.³⁹⁷

1975 - Fagans publish 'Het Land van Waveren'

A year after the inauguration, the Fagans published *Church Street in Het Land Van Waveren* (1975) a 185 page hardcover art book that gave a detailed and highly researched history of Tulbagh and the detailed account of the background and restoration of each of the individual buildings that made up the project. In the book, Hoogenhout summarised the results of the restoration and the prevailing yet contrary understanding of the building as a historical document

The conservation of a living, early village-scene like Church Street not only brings economic benefits through tourism, but also provides the town with something of even great renewal value – a symbol of its identity. Yet, in the long run, its greatest value for all for us is probably that we can thereby associate ourselves with the continuity of our common culture, and through a better understanding of earlier generations' approach to life, evaluate our own. But for the restoration to succeed it must be executed with respect and be entirely true.' When compromises have to be made... the guiding principle should always be that the building be regarded as a valuable document which, like any archival material, is not to be falsified. In this way one should avoid blatant and popular falsifications and 'Cape-Dutchifications', like Victorian windows and 'stoepbankies', where none existed.³⁹⁸



Fig.65. A collection of stamps were issued to celebrate the inauguration of Church Street (from www.delcampe.net).

³⁹⁶ CPIA AGM minutes, 1974 (Archives File3/1/31).

³⁹⁷ CPIA AGM minutes, 1975 (Archives File3/1/31).

³⁹⁸ Hoogenhout in Fagan and Fagan, *Church Street*, 170.



Fig.66. Four panoramic photographs which show the extent and process of Church Street's radical transformation. Photos from after earthquake, during demolition and reconstruction and after inauguration (slides from Fagan archive).



Fig.67. Four images to show the Fagan's transformation of the south side of Church Street. Photos show after the quake, during reconstruction and after inauguration (colour slides from Fagan archive, greyscale photos from Fagan and Fagan, 1975, 42 & 54).

The extent of Fagan's restoration and related levels of authenticity

The detail contained in the Fagan book has made possible an analysis of the scope of the restoration. On a property by property basis, I have looked at a number of aspects of the conservation in order to determine how much or how little each property was stylistically conserved to 'it's-best'. A comparative analysis of the actual work done to each property by the Fagans has been attempted and is tabulated in appendix C. The aspects that are examined in each property are:

- Estimation of original fabric (overall score)
- Existing or replica period fenestration used
- Original or replacement period ceilings and floors used
- Demolition of existing walls
- Demolition of lean-to structures and verandas
- Demolition of later wings and extensions
- Reconstruction of walls and or veranda
- Reconstruction of main gable and reinstating thatch roof structure.



Fig.68. With the new roof structure already in place, a reclaimed / salvaged window is built into the facade of House 42. Note the Victorian plaster finish (slide from Fagan archive).

By allocating a score and colour to each of these aspects, I was able to estimate an approximation of an overall score per property. Of the 32 properties listed in the post-earthquake restoration, 16 (exactly half of them), had largely existed in their original form and thus repair and minimal stylistic intervention was required. I have coloured these as minimal interventions as green in the table and estimate them to have between 80 and 95% original fabric.

1) Minimum Intervention, conservation and repair (Green)

Some reproduction joinery required

Some minor demolitions of later additions or lean-to structures or verandas.

Number	Property description	Date Built	Existing Building Style
1	Oude Kerk	1743 & 1795	Cape Dutch
4	Earthquake Museum	1901	Late Victorian
10	House Van Huysteen	1890s	Victorian
14	Victorian Museum	1880s	Victorian
18	House Mac Whannell	1880s	Victorian
21	Danie Theron Huis	1860s	Late Cape Dutch/Victorian
22	Pioneer House Museum	1820s	Cape Dutch
25	The Victorian	1810s	Victorianised Cape Dutch
27	Pink House Davidson	1900	Agricultural conversion
29	Winterhoek House	1804	Cape Dutch
33	Stables/Huis Buitendag	1900	Agricultural conversion
36	Monbijou	1790s	Early Cape Town House
43	Ballotina	1790s	Cape Dutch
44	Parsonage	1750s	Cape Dutch
VDS	Mission Church	1840s	Cape Dutch
VDS	Melbourne House	1860s	Victorian



Fig.69. Oudekerk in 1900 by Elliott (in Fagan and Fagan, *Church Street*, 63) and in 2017 (from <http://www.southafrica.net/blog/en/posts/entry/monumental-tulbagh>).



Fig.70. House 43 'Ballotina' with earthquake damage (in Fagan and Fagan, *Church Street*, 143) and as it appears in 2015 (<http://southernafricatransel.com/blog/the-cape-winlands/spring-arts-festival-in-tulbagh/>).



Fig.71. House 22 'Pioneer House Museum' before the earthquake (in Fagan and Fagan, *Church Street*, 98) and in 2013.



Fig.72. House 14 'Victorian Museum' at the time of earthquake (Fagan and Fagan, *Church Street*, 86) and as it appears in 2014.

The other sixteen houses were however transformed by either medium (orange) or major conservation interventions (red) interventions which have undoubtedly impacted on the historic

authenticity of the remaining fabric in these buildings. Of these latter 16 transformed buildings, all of them had their gables reconstructed, thatch roof structure and period windows reinstated. Eight of these transformed buildings however, despite their obvious outward change, had retained much of their internal form, original fabric and joinery. I have classified their level of intervention as orange and estimate that they have between 60 and 75% original fabric.

2) Medium Interventions of Restoration (Orange)

Repair & Remodelling: De-Victorianisation and Re-Cape 'Dutchification'

Complete reconstruction of roof structure (gables, thatch roof)

Installation of new fenestration and much new internal joinery

Demolition of less substantial later additions & lean-to structures

Number	Property description	Date Built	Existing Building Style
6	De Oude Herberg Guest House	1860s	Cape Dutch
12	Readers Restaurant	1750s	Cape Dutch
16	Wagon Shed	1860s	Cape Dutch
30	De Pijnappel Huys	1790s	Cape Dutch
32	Yellow Wood House	1790s	Cape Dutch
34	Stink Wood House	1790s	Cape Dutch
40	Fourties	1790s	Cape Dutch

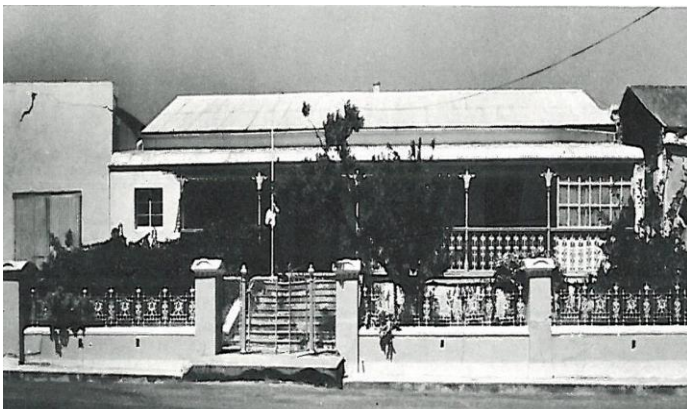


Fig.73. House 32 'Yellow Wood' after the earthquake and as it appeared after restoration (in Fagan and Fagan, *Church Street*, 140 & 141).



Fig.74. House 16 'The Wagon-Shed' after the earthquake (in Fagan and Fagan, *Church Street*, 83) and as it appeared in 2012.

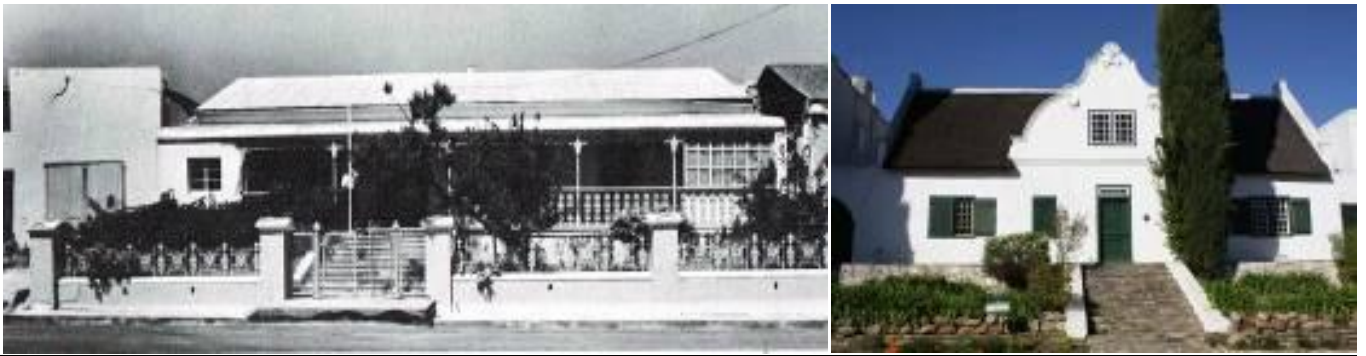


Fig.75. House 34 'Stinkhout' House after the earthquake (in Fagan and Fagan, *Church Street*, 144) and as it appeared in 2013.

3) Major Intervention of reconstruction (Red)

Complete remodelling: Large-scale demolitions of substantial later Victorian & 20th century additions.

Full reconstruction of entire roof structure including all gables (front and sides).

New period fenestration and internal joinery made and installed.

Six buildings in the street received a complete transformation both inside and out. These are classified as red in the tables to denote a major intervention of reconstruction with complete remodelling and substantial demolitions throughout. It seems self obvious that the transformed buildings that were subject to the 'red' interventions correspondingly have the least amount of original fabric and the higher levels of fabrication and lower levels of historic material authenticity as defined by the modern conservation profession. Even these 'red' buildings have an estimation of between 50 and 75% of their original fabric intact; in so much as they only had later fabric removed.

Number	Property description	Date Built	Existing Building Style
17	Honey Oaks	1850s	Late Cape Dutch
23	Paddagang	1820s	Cape Dutch
24	Tulbagh Country Guest House	1810s	Cape Dutch
26	Christo Coetzee House Museum	1810s	Cape Dutch
28	Toll Keepers House	1810s	Cape Dutch
42	Old Parsonage	1790s	Cape Dutch



Fig.76. House 42 after the earthquake (in Fagan and Fagan, *Church Street*, 162) and as it appears in 2014 (by author).



Fig.77. House 24, 'Tulbagh Country Guest House' after the quake (in Fagan and Fagan, *Church Street*, 110) and as it appeared in 2014 (by author).



Fig.78. House 17, 'Honey Oaks' after the earthquake (in Fagan and Fagan, *Church Street*, 85) and as it appeared in 2014.

4) Full Reconstruction & Full Demolition (Black)

There are at least five buildings/structures classified as 'black' (rebuild/demolished) in relation to the Fagan intervention. A late Victorian dwelling and a simple 1950s house had been judged by the TRC to be 'too modern' and not keeping with the chosen aesthetic of the street. These two buildings as well as the municipal store and workshops in the street were demolished along with various modern outbuildings/garages and store rooms that were not in keeping with the purity of the TRC's restoration vision. In addition one house was completely rebuilt new on old foundations where the owner had summarily demolished his property after the earthquake.

Number	Property description	Date Built	Existing Building Style
38	Newly built on existing foundation	1972	Cape long house
29	Gardens Collective	1960s	Municipal workshop demolished
39	Community Gardens	1960s	Municipal store demolished
20	Remaining Coach House	1950s	Modern house demolished
8	Private garden	1900	Victorian House demolished



Fig.79. House 8 and house 20 were both demolished after earthquake (from Fagan and Fagan, *Church Street*, 72 & 89).



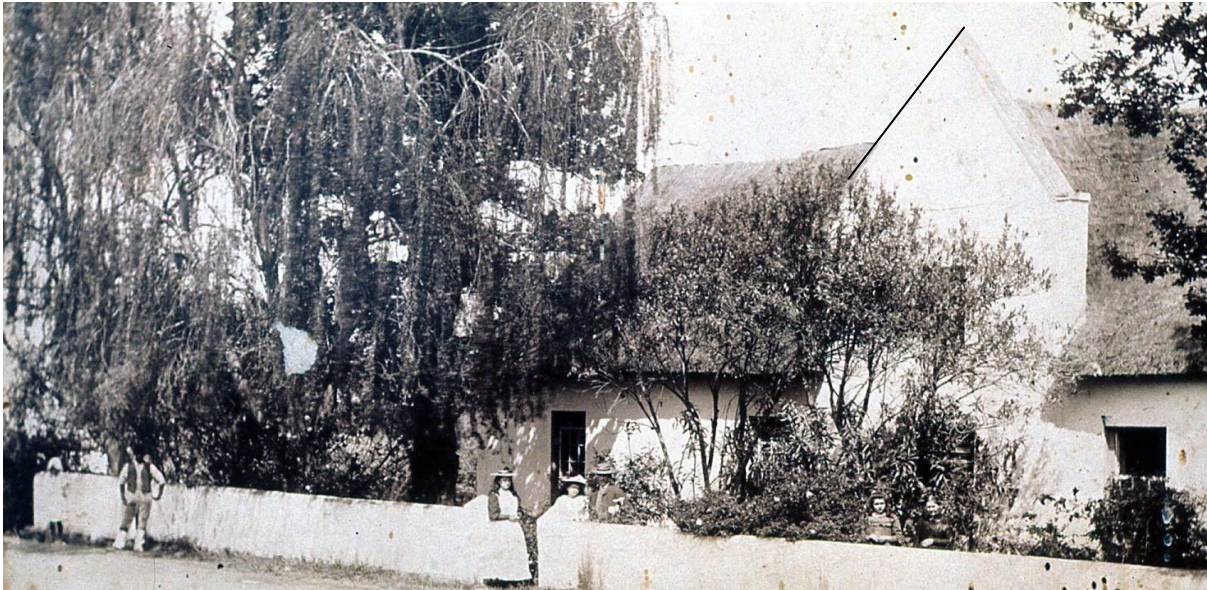
Fig.80. House 38 being demolished in 1969 (Fagan and Fagan, *Church Street*, 151) and its reconstructed form in 2013 (by author).



Fig.81. West view through a roofless House 24. At the centre of the image is House 27, with some earthquake damage. The TRC had intended to also demolish this house (similar to House 8) as it was not in keeping with the Cape Dutch aesthetic on the northern half of the street. Due to a budget shortfall, Fagan eventually agreed to leave the house and only replaced the steel windows with sash. Top right, the municipal stores below Church Street were relocated and all the buildings demolished.

Fig.82. Next page, Level I – Green intervention showing a series of three pictures of House 19 'Danie Tron House'. Top photo as it appeared around 1900 (by Ravenscroft from Fagan archive). Middle photo – As photographed by Fagan with Victorian features and earthquake damage (from Fagan archive). Bottom photo – After restoration by Fagan (all slides from Fagan archive).

Fig.83. After next page – Level III – Red intervention showing the transformation of House 42 'The Old Parsonage'. Top photo – During restoration with all Victorian and modern fabric removed. Middle picture- Gables going up. Bottom photo – Nearing completion (all slides from Fagan archive).





Summary of income, finances and budget of the TRC³⁹⁹

At the back of the Fagans' book there is a revealing list of the names of the private and corporate contributors, who supported or funded the restoration. Substantial donations were received from all four provincial administrations, the Boland Disaster Committee and the NMC as well as approximately 80 other donors – the amounts donated are not however mentioned in the book. This successful nationwide fundraising programme had been launched by the Works Committee to finance the extensive restoration and was largely co-ordinated by Froneman at HHSA.⁴⁰⁰ Many individuals, from local farmers to provincial bodies, private commercial companies, mining and finance houses and banks contributed towards the restoration of Tulbagh (Church Street and the farm houses in the valley). (A total amount of R128 000 was received from donations, roughly equivalent to R8.5 million in 2017)

An original budget from the Fagans archive however reveals that almost a third of the total funds (R620 000) required came from the sale of the 28 Church street properties (R190 000), it becomes apparent that the bulk of the remaining (R420 000) was indeed made up of state money with only around 15% of that amount (R85 000) having originated in the private sector. Further examination of the budget shows that the National state via the provincial administrators and NMC contributed R200 000 to the restoration, approximately 1/3 of the funds required. A further amount of 'state' fund raised money totalling around R87 500 was received from the Boland Disaster Committee (BDC) as well as Johannesburg and Bloemfontein town councils, which edges the total 'government' funding towards 80% of the total required (after deduction of the value of the 28 houses later sold).

It seems significant that the BDC made a once off contribution to the TRC for the restoration of Church Street. An explanatory letter from the BDC reads that the contribution is for the estimated cost of the removal of rubble of eleven houses in the street that had originally been destined for demolition- # 16, 17, 23, 24, 25, 26, 28, 30, 38, 42, 43. The TRC budget reveals that R85 000 was in fact contributed, a substantial amount, around 15% of the total budget, which seems far too high for just rubble removal. Gwen says of this: 'Gawie had advised the BDC that it would make sense for them to spend more of the disaster money in just one street in Tulbagh (to make more of an impact), rather than if they divided the money to spend at all the different places that had been affected by the earthquake'.⁴⁰¹ It is clear that Fagan was a strong negotiator as R85 000 in 2017 is about R5 million!

³⁹⁹ TRC budget, September 1973. In Fagan archives, this was the latest complete budget that I could locate.

⁴⁰⁰ Fagan Interview, 4 March 2014.

⁴⁰¹ Gwen Fagan email, 4 November 2016.

CHAPTER 8

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

This chapter summarizes the findings derived from the analysis of the Tulbagh case studies within the framework of the relevant heritage, conservation and memory literature. In order to contextualise the results of the analysis, the research has examined why and how, after an initial general inspection by the proponents of the earthquake affected area, the aim of rebuilding the town very quickly turned into a national restoration effort focused on Tulbagh.

The restoration of Tulbagh did not occur in a neutral context. The socio-political situation at the time ensured that the localised Boland earthquake received national attention, to become a nation-building, Tulbagh-focused restoration of national importance.⁴⁰² I propose that there were a number of events and incidents between 1959 and 1969 that 'set the stage' and 'triggered' the large-scale restoration of Tulbagh back to its perceived 'best' Cape Dutch style.

The restoration of Church Street represents an architecture of its time, best understood in its mid-20th - century socio-political context and not within a modern framework or necessarily through an international lens. With a modern or international view point, it would be challenging to reconcile academic conservation arguments with the post-earthquake reality that unfolded in a Nationalist-dominated South Africa.⁴⁰³

⁴⁰² It would seem that the response to the earthquake was a National one and in the same way the restoration of Church Street was a national one, with many statements coming from Pretoria and being published in papers around the country. An examination of newspapers from around the country from Oct and Nov 1969 demonstrates an initial significant popular interest in the story of the Tulbagh earthquake in relation to the human suffering story and to a far less a degree the story of the cultural damage. After the tremor on the 17th November, I could find few mentions of 'Tulbagh' again and I found no mention of the co-ordinated 'Fagan' restoration strategy in non Cape papers.

⁴⁰³ Fagan interview, September 2016. Gawie says of his academic critics that he would live to know how they propose that the street should have been restored: 'He won't know because he was not in that situation and has never done anything like that in his life before - very easy to talk in you are an academic...'

Heritage Creation / Cultural Curation.

This research has found that reconstructed heritage sites, (such as Church Street), represent the deliberate and intentional creation of heritage, which Nora would describe as the manufacturing of a site of collective official memories rather than the 'curation' of original culture.⁴⁰⁴ Theoretically this research has dealt with both heritage and memory, directly linking architecture as tangible culture to that of intangible heritage and memory of a glorious past.

The recreation of the past in the present is always a product of its time, reflecting the ideals and longings of a particular generation. 'Historical heritage' acts as a 'great mirror' in which contemporary societies 'contemplate their image' through the deliberate manipulation of the built environment; a society with a threatened cultural identity can consciously reconstruct their identity in an effort to stave off the 'anxieties and uncertainties' of the present.⁴⁰⁵

It has been demonstrated that the affirmation of cultural identity is often a reaction to a threatening situation, whereby a people's identification with each other and with cultural symbols is both created and strengthened by a crisis afflicting that particular culture. The literature and case studies have demonstrated the deliberate creation of a dominant cultural ideology, supported by the South African government's desire to promote European cultural superiority and the creation of a white settler heritage.⁴⁰⁶ These findings are in line with those of contemporary South African writings of Buttgens, Brink and Darke and supported by Merrington and Malan that as 'curator' of the national heritage, the Nationalists created 'cultural symbols' which constantly reaffirmed initially Afrikaner identity and then later a White identity.⁴⁰⁷

With regard to the establishment and development of the first museums after 1925 in the old Cape Drostdy towns, it has been interesting to note that, after having been acquired, these properties were virtually all reconstructed to their perceived 'best' period by the same group of Tulbagh proponents, noted architects and heritage authorities active in the Cape at that time (Fox, Visser, Fagan, Fransen, Cook et cetera).

Examination of both the literature and the unfolding situation suggests that Church Street was restored after the earthquake to (intentionally) create a cultural monument, as a common tangible heritage. A manufactured nationalist heritage to console and reconcile the threatened identities of the country's two

⁴⁰⁴ Nora, *Between memory and history*, 7-24.

⁴⁰⁵ Choay, Françoise, *The invention of the historic monument* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 165.

⁴⁰⁶ Darke, "Afrikaner Nationalism".

⁴⁰⁷ Witz, *Apartheid's Festival*, 11.

dominant (white settler) groups.⁴⁰⁸ As a signifier of Afrikaner/settler civilization, the restoration of Church Street could thus be understood as evidence of what Darke would describe as a 'constructed settler mythology' (and thus a justification of white supremacy and apartheid). What becomes apparent with the Tulbagh case study, as with international reconstructed heritage sites with distinct nationalist overtones such as Williamsburg and Fort Louisbourg, is that a restored Church Street has emerged a place of constructed memory; a stage set upon which the 'pantomime of settler mythology' can perform.

Nora's nostalgia - remembering and forgetting

When the Tulbagh case study is examined through Nora's framework of *lieux de memoir*, Church Street becomes a reconstituted heritage object - an appropriation and manipulation of the built heritage, offered in an idealised form by the conservation fraternity and Afrikaner Nationalists to white South Africans during a tumultuous time in the country's history.⁴⁰⁹ 'The moment of *lieux de memoire* occurs at the same time that an immense and intimate fund of memory disappears, surviving only as a reconstituted object beneath the gaze of critical history.'⁴¹⁰ Nora's work, when applied to the Tulbagh restoration, would further suggest that this restoration resulted in the historical discontinuation of the town, whereby the individual memories of its people and buildings were replaced by a newly created collective memory.⁴¹¹ The restoration of Tulbagh abruptly ended centuries of layered memories of the town, replacing them with a single set of values and a newly manufactured historic past.

Nora's argument that history, and therefore heritage, is a social and cultural construct is demonstrated in this case study.⁴¹² The examples have described how the state, its supporters and the Cape conservation professionals intentionally used their power and resources to reconstruct and restore key Dutch/VOC heritage sites to their idealised 'original' form (best period). The Nationalist state, through its official departments, was thus able to recreate a *lieu de memoir*, whereby the state (Department of Public Works in relation to Tuinhuis and the Castle, as well as the NMC in relation to Tulbagh) instructed and encouraged Fagan to recreate and celebrate Dutch/VOC heritage; although, as we have seen, Fagan as an architect strove independently for these goals as well.⁴¹³

⁴⁰⁸ Frescura, "Culture in transition" and Frescura, "Monuments and the monumentalisation of myths".

⁴⁰⁹ Frescura, 'Culture in transition'.

⁴¹⁰ Nora, *Between Memory*, 11 – 12.

⁴¹¹ Ibid., 12 – 14.

⁴¹² Ibid., 7.

⁴¹³ Darke, "Afrikaner Nationalism", 124.

Setting the stage – The precursors of the Tulbagh restoration

In 1861 an unknown photographer took a very early four-frame panoramic photograph of a thatched and gabled pre-industrial Tulbagh streetscape. The artefact survived the passage of time and 109 years later would inspire Fagan to confidently and ‘authentically’ reconstruct the past.

Between 1902 and 1925 Sir Meiring and Lady Beck, and later between 1943 and 1956 Mary Cook, would champion the conservation and preservation of arguably the five most significant buildings in Tulbagh. Without their interventions and the preservation of these most significant of monuments it is possible that the heritage value of the street would not have been maintained, recognised and reconstructed after the earthquake.

After 1892 the Rhodes/Baker Cape Revival initiated an awareness and appreciation, amongst English-speakers in particular, for threatened Cape Dutch architecture. This would be promoted by the Unionists as a South African national style for the next half century and used as a cultural device of nation-building between the countries two white races.

The Afrikaner Nationalists, once in power after 1948, set about establishing a ‘white’ national identity for South Africa by re-establishing links with a common colonial past including an identification with Cape Dutch architecture.⁴¹⁴ The apartheid state was a key curator in the re-definition of the nation’s history and heritage. There is little doubt that the ‘invocation’ of numerous cultural symbols that affirmed the Afrikaner identity contributed to the emergence of the Nation Party as a dominant political force in the decades to come.⁴¹⁵

In 1959 the SvdS Foundation was established with the aim of championing heritage conservation in South Africa. The foundation was representative of the local conservation fraternity and widely supported by highly influential political and business personalities. In this way the people and organisations committed to heritage preservation came together formally for the first time.

The 1959 Conservation Symposium brought the SA conservation fraternity together, in body and in mind, to strategise a unified South African approach to the preservation and conservation of historic,

⁴¹⁴ Ibid.

⁴¹⁵ Witz, *Apartheid's Festival*, 11-13.

primarily Cape Dutch architecture. The symposium significantly included most of the eventual Tulbagh proponents. (MNC, CPIA, SvdS Foundation, Cook, Rupert).⁴¹⁶

The deteriorating 1960s South African socio-political situation was perceived as a threat to white South African identity. From this time there was an increased focus on the promotion of colonial heritage and its restoration as being 'to best' and invariably that was a previous Cape Dutch appearance. The era likewise also experienced a number of significant 'memorialisations' of the built environment.

By the late 1960s the Afrikaner nationalist 'struggle' narrative had been unseated by a strong push to establish a white South African identity in the built environment, and thereby link both English speakers and Afrikaners to the gabled old Cape buildings and their history.⁴¹⁷ These manifestations, through Nora's lens, display nostalgia for a golden age, suggesting concerns of white security in a hostile world. An application of Nora's ideas would suggest that in this way Tulbagh was recreated as a self-referencing memory of a golden age of civilisation, speaking of the good old days where the sun always shone and demonstrating a national nostalgia for an idealised sanitised past.

In 1965 Anton Rupert established Historic Homes, which would go on to play a principle role in the restoration of Tulbagh. In addition to financing (purchasing and restoring) two Church street properties, the organisation also provided a physical office and 'nerve-centre' to the restoration as well as all important secretariat and co-ordinated fundraising.

In 1968 Immelman published the papers from the 1959 symposium and updated the conservation scene into the late 1960's context. This important book on conservation in South Africa brought the remaining proponents 'into the fold' and seemingly consolidated their conservation resolve while clearly emphasising the 'to-best' conservation philosophy.⁴¹⁸

In 1969 the NMC was established as an arm of government, which, significantly, had the power to provisionally proclaim historic monuments as well as co-ordinate resources, finances and knowledge. Based on these over arching powers, I maintain that the NMC's establishment initiated a short 20-year window of socio-political opportunity (1969 – 1989), outside of which if the earthquake had happened then the gabled streetscape of Tulbagh would likely not have been restored as it was.

⁴¹⁶ Restoring Tulbagh's Historic Buildings', Cape Times, 29 September 1971. 'The article describes the 1959 heritage symposium, its formation and aims, drawing extensively from extracts and linking them to the Tulbagh restoration and expressing a hope that the 'Tulbagh restoration blueprint would be used in wider application and in other historic towns.'

⁴¹⁷ Biermann, Barry, *Red Wine in South Africa* (Cape Town: Buren, 1971). The book is a celebration of the time, drawing links between wine, a sophisticated Western lifestyle and Cape Dutch architectural glory.

⁴¹⁸ Immelman, *Preservation and Restoration*, i-vii.

The September 1969 Boland earthquake triggered a very real threat of the large-scale demolition of historic buildings, which loomed over the disaster area. Reports of wholesale destruction (and its implication as a loss of cultural heritage) resulted in a conservation panic, which caused the proponents to promptly come together in a very determined manner.

The philosophy of 'to-best' conservation

In many regards Imperial Britain has a reputation and track record for being insular, setting the example and not led by it.⁴¹⁹ Research has demonstrated that South African architects were neither involved in the conservation debate during the union nor in the Nationalist republic era. Although European conservation practice and international charters might have been followed with interest by local art historians and some local architects, they were apparently not however perceived as relevant to the Cape conservation scene.⁴²⁰

Kendal and Eaton established a conservation methodology and trend of 'to-best' restoration, which persisted though out the apartheid era. This methodology was in practice not dissimilar to Violet-le-Duc's work and quite contrary to the English anti-restoration methodologies of Ruskin and Morris.⁴²¹ Full restoration/reconstruction to its best was not just prevalent in conservation in South Africa, it was the status quo-standard operating practice; alternatives were not even considered. This is understandable when one considers that most of the early conservation personalities had architecture and art history backgrounds (grounded in aesthetics and in the past).

Fagan's reconstructive restorations of La Dauphine, Tuinhuys and the Castle continued this established 'to-best' practice right up to, and beyond, 1969. Thus, in consideration of the predominant position of Cape Dutch in the context of 20th -century nation-building, it follows that Tulbagh was always going to have been restored to its Cape Dutch 'best'. No other style was considered and to have done so would have been counter to the values, attitudes and aims of the proponents. Whether intentionally or otherwise, it is apparent that the proponents' cultural choices resulted in conservation philosophy and decisions that promoted the dominant white ideology in 20th century conservation.⁴²² This conservation

⁴¹⁹ This inclination was exemplified in 1931 by the UK not participating in the 1931 Athens conference.

⁴²⁰ Fransen Interview, 14 March 2014.

⁴²¹ Darke, "Afrikaner Nationalism", 39.

⁴²² Darke, "Afrikaner Nationalism," 126 - 128. The architectural profession as well as the Cape conservation architects were key role players in the interpretation, reconstruction and restoration of Dutch/VOC architecture. In her thesis, Darke makes a convincing argument that the prevailing conservation methodology of the architects concerned, (Visser and Fagan), was that of stylistic restoration.

philosophy and methodology supported the ideological positions of the state in its endeavours to reconstruct and celebrate Dutch/VOC architecture.⁴²³

'A full and 'proper' restoration to its best' - The conservation philosophy at the time was grounded in the proponent's concept of authenticity. Eaton, Kendal, Fagan, Cook and Fransen's understanding of authenticity was to accurately reconstruct, to put back what was 'known' to be there before with minimal guess work. None of them would ever question the removal of later accretions which they did not value. In this way Cook removed the classrooms at Ballotina; they were not considered a layer of history. In the same way, the Fagans did not, and still do not, consider it conjectural to reconstruct missing gables where it can be shown that they previously existed. To these conservators, the still recent Cape Revival was the antithesis of conservation and contrary to their notions of authenticity. In light of this, Fagan clearly demonstrated the widely supported 'correct' approach to authentic restoration.

A further term that is much used by these proponents, that has very different meanings in both local and international cases, is that of the building as a document. UNESCO's contemporary interpretation is that the building must be respected in its totality as its intact layers tell an important story, whereas Fagan's interpretation is that a building tells one what must be done to it to 'make it right'. Fagan argues that, in an urban context such as Tulbagh, a contemporary intervention, in accordance with the relevant charters, would not be applicable: 'The maintenance of the overall cohesion of Tulbagh streetscape absolutely overrides the possibility of an intrusion in that context'.⁴²⁴ Fagan therefore regards the maintenance of the stylistic unity of the 'whole' as something which can override the need for adhering to the charter or conservation principles in cases where these are deemed 'significantly rare'.⁴²⁵

Although the restoration of Tulbagh implies an extension of nationalism from an exclusively Afrikaner identity to a white South African identity, it remains clear that at the time, the English/Victorian architectural layer in Tulbagh was not culturally valued or appreciated by the Fagans or any of the other proponents from either language group. Even the English-dominated National Society had been established with a manifesto which seemed to prioritise VOC/Dutch period sites as being worthy of protection.

Despite this apparent disregard for Victorian architecture, it should be noted that only one Victorian house in Church Street (No 8) was purposefully demolished in the street. The other five mid/late Victorian houses were retained, restored to their original appearance and now co-exist amongst their

⁴²³ Townsend, "Development Rights," 91.

⁴²⁴ Scurr, "Contemporary Interventions," 124.

⁴²⁵ Ibid., 124.

older gabled neighbours. What is more, in two Tulbagh examples (25 Church & 34 Van der Stel), Fagan chose to retain the Victorian layering on older original houses instead of reconstructing them back to their supposed best Cape Dutch gabled appearance.⁴²⁶ In light of Fagan's comments about these properties being 'good Victorianisations' and making a worthwhile contribution to the streetscape, it might be construed that Fagan believed that in these two instances at least that the houses were already in their 'best form' and should be preserved as such. Gwen Fagan confirms this ideology stating: 'The idea behind the restoration was to show the historic development along the street. There was never a discussion of demolishing the later /Victorian houses that were not included in the 1861 photograph'.⁴²⁷

According to the comparative table (appendix C - levels of Fagan's of intervention), half of the houses in the project were repaired and only minor stylistic conservations were required. The other half of the properties were however transformed by moderate to extreme degrees of conservation in order to create the desired streetscape. Despite this statistic however, the overall transformation of the Street seems absolute and few visitors come to question the pristine surreal atmosphere of the restored Street or its degree of authenticity. This supports the notion that Church Street – Tulbagh, is both a constructed heritage and a 'place of memory' for many.



Fig. 84. These garden plots below Church Street used to house the municipal stores, but now exist as a public park and provide good views of the rows of gabled houses above the street (photo by Riaan West).

⁴²⁶ Both house 25 Church Street and 35 VdStel Street appeared in the 1861 panoramic with pointed front gables and thatch roofs.

⁴²⁷ Fagan interview 21 Sept 2016.

Analysis of the Tulbagh Restoration Committee's finances and budget. 1973

INCOME	(R1'000s)	EXPENCES	(R1'000s)
Sale of properties	191.6	Purchase of property	110.7
Boland Disaster Committee	83.3	Conveyance costs	10.2
Owners contributions	35.3	Restoration costs	421.5
Architectural materials sold	1	Architects and Engineers	
Rental income	2.4	Fees	41.2
Interest	4.2	Taxes	3
Water contribution	4.2	Insurance	2
Provincial administrators	150	Burying electrics	19
Other contribution		Provision of water	4.2
necessary	155.5	Office supplies	4
		Secretarial services	4
		Admin/Accounts	0.5
		Interest on loans	5
	<u>627.5</u>		<u>625.3</u>

Committed to making contributions

NMC (National government)	50
Clifford Harris	2.5
General mining	5
Boland Bank	10
Johannesburg Town council	5
Anglo American	10
Other	2.5
Rembrandt Group	2.5
Oude Meester Group	2.5
KWV	2.5
Roberts Construction	5
Lions International	1
Boere Saamwerk Beperk	1.5
Town council of	
Bloemfontein	0.3
Other	0.4
	<u>100.7</u>

By the time of its inauguration in 1974 the total restoration of Church Street had cost R625 000 (R30 million in 2016 values) of which R191 000 (30%) was raised by the sale of the restored houses. Of the remaining R430 000 (70%) shortfall required for the restoration, the provincial administrators granted R150 000 (25%) directly to the TRC, while the national government indirectly contributed R50 000 via the NMC. The sum of these two amounts represents the total amount of money granted directly from the top two levels of government. A further amount of funding totalling around R83 300 was received from the Boland Disaster Committee, which operated under the Department of Community Development, also a government department, which thus brings the total 'state' funding to closer to 86% of the balance. Around R12 000 was earned from other commercial activities, so that only the remaining R85 000 of the total funds only 13.5% was contributed and donated from the private sector (owners, individual and corporate donors).

This budget was only for the TRC restoration of Church Street and excludes the following:

- NMC bought the Drostdy for an undetermined amount and paid for its restoration (R95 000).
- Nine farms in the valley, which received contributions of R3000 each from the NMC (R27 000).
- HHSA bought two properties and restored them with a combination of its own funds, insurance and TRC money.
- SvdS Foundation bought two properties and paid for both restorations out of its own appeal fund.
- The Oude Kerk Museum was restored with funds from the Cape Provincial Administration.
- The NG Kerk parsonage was restored by the church at its own cost and had no involvement with the TRC whatsoever.

The Motivations of the proponents – Everyone had their own agenda

A study of the available literature and stated organisational goals of the Tulbagh proponents, when examined in the context of contemporary and subsequent conservations to that of Tulbagh, reveals the goals and motivations of these conservation champions. Although this research has shown that the 'to-best' conservation approach was at the time the widely supported intellectually strong position, it would seem that despite the seemingly common vision, everyone involved had their own agenda as follows:

- **CPIA** (Fagans & others)
 - Technical conservation of historic buildings
 - Academic recording of significant architecture
- **NMC** (Various)
 - Curator of the national heritage and 'invocator' of various cultural symbols. Conservation and restoration of declared national monuments

- Official preservation of colonial built heritage (support of the Nationalist agenda)
- **SvdS Foundation** (Various)
 - Preservation of historic built heritage and cultural interests
 - Engender and stimulate pride and interest in architectural heritage
 - Promotion of primarily Dutch settler cultural heritage
 - Political support for a common (white) South African identity
- **HHSA** (Rupert, Froneman, Hoogenhout)
 - Philanthropy and the preservation of Heritage and cultural interests
 - Afrikaner pride and patriotism, heritage conservation
 - Commercial ambitions, career and legacy aspirations
 - Nation building, community and the well being of future generations
- **Fagans** (Gawie, Gwen and Fagan Architects)
 - Professional representation of various organisations
 - Own commercial interest in the project
 - Familial/personal association with Tulbagh
- **Vorster and the National Political Patrons** (Various)
 - Nationalism and Nation building through heritage creation/construction
 - Cohesion of the two white races (English and Afrikaner)
 - Afrikaner pride and Nationalism
 - Social development & great political PR
- **Provincial and Municipal political supporters** (Various)
 - 2nd tier nation building and support of political institution
 - Economic development & tourism
- **Cape Museums** (Provincial administration and Fransen & Cook)
 - Cultural curation, academic exploration & historicism.
 - To ensure correct, accurate and authentic 'To-Best' stylistic restoration
- **Business** (KWV, HHSA, Corporate donors)
 - Corporate Social Responsibility
- **VASSA** (Fagan, Fransen, Walton)
 - Historic & architectural technical interest (both academic and amateur)
- **Tulbagh residents** (Various including Krone & Cook)
 - Personal & Civic/ residential pride
 - Financial interest in the restoration of their properties
- **SA Public**
 - National civic camaraderie. Altruism & charitable inclinations

To the proponents there was a clear rationale for restoring Tulbagh; not only did it seem the intellectually strong position, but the methodology for doing so was supported by historians and art historians, architects and, seemingly, the entire built environment profession. An examination of the first weeks after the earthquake reveals that there was no debate, nor questions asked as to what should happen. It seems it was simply a question of implementing the common vision, getting the money together and getting on with the restoration.

The restoration of Church Street illustrates a conservation methodology, which resulted in the buildings being reconstructed in many cases to their hypothetical original state. This process required a 'design-by-analogy' approach which Fagan agrees is, in essence, a process of copying or replication in order to achieve a result which restores a building to its 'best state'. Fagan, along with the 19th -century restoration professionals, interpreted 'meanings and value of authenticity' in the imagined ideal of the historical building and not the historical fabric.⁴²⁸

One does 'copy' but only when buildings are very rare and when it is necessary to complete the picture... 'common sense' solutions using stylistic and design-by-analogy methods where no documentary evidence existed.⁴²⁹

This approach is clearly in keeping with the methodology of Eaton, Kendall and the conservation philosophy of Viollet-le-Duc, which supported a stylistic and historical restoration although, it must be emphasised, none of these architects are known to have referred to Viollet-le-Duc by name.⁴³⁰

Both Fagan and Fransen emphasise that they had no political interference and the NMC respected their designs and recognised Fagan's passion for his subject. 'We had a surprisingly free hand', says Fagan and agreed that that he was given 'full' control over the restoration, Gwen believes that this is because he was so respected in the conservation fraternity. Gwen says that, 'Gawie is very inventive and not necessarily guided by what others think or have done before'.⁴³¹ When interviewed in 2015 neither of the Fagans recalled hearing about the Athens or Venice Charters, only becoming aware of the Burra charter 'the fashionable one' in the 1980s. Fagan maintains that his conservation philosophy has always just been to follow his head and common sense.⁴³²

⁴²⁸ Buttgens, "Castle of Good Hope", 54.

⁴²⁹ Fagan interview, 5 July 2014

⁴³⁰ Darke, "Afrikaner Nationalism," 46.

⁴³¹ Fagan interview, 21 Sept 2016.

⁴³² Ibid. As an antidote, Gwen Fagan describes Gawie's nomination as a fellow of the American Institute of Architects and when introduced to the formally dressed audience by the convener, he was asked about how he uses global architecture and how

A genuine concern for the preservation of colonial heritage as a testimony of (white) cultural pride and nation-building seems to be the larger underlying motivation of most of the proponents. It is also clear that, in addition to these ideological motivations, there was a financial expediency and economic reality that shaped the Tulbagh restoration. The limited finances available dictated the extent, timeframe and thoroughness of the restoration.⁴³³

SA white public, Church Street residents and corporate sponsors

It is perfectly understandable that the Afrikaner elite were concerned with the preservation of their cultural interests, presumably with noble intentions.⁴³⁴ South Africa's 'white' public supported the restoration as a good cause, due to their apparent notions of charity, altruism and national pride. Local government support from around the country was also received, as well as substantial donations from para-statal organisations, finance houses, mining and other companies. These organisations presumably were motivated by notions of corporate social responsibility and contributing towards nation-building.

The reaction of the residents of Church Street to the news of provisional proclamation demonstrates the differences between the romantic and idealistic motivations of the proponents versus the practical and financial considerations of the residents. It was clear that not all owners and residents were supportive of the motivations or intent behind the restorations nor were they keen to cooperate in the project. This epitomises the contestation between noble 'high-level' views of the cultural and political elite versus the reality of residents and communities affected on the ground.

Evidence for nationalism

Although there were clear nationalist/nation-building motives prevalent amongst many of the proponents, the diversity of the proponents and their individual motivations means it cannot be substantiated that Afrikaner nationalism was the overall driving factor amongst them for the restoration of Tulbagh. An examination of the budget of the TRC, however, reveals that, despite the well-publicised fund raising campaign, the bulk of the Tulbagh restoration money did in fact come from all levels of government: national, provincial and local. It is apparent that the state saw the Tulbagh restoration as a worthwhile investment in the celebration and 'monumentalisation' of white settler legacy. For better or worse, this was in line with the dominant philosophy during the apartheid era.

he integrates this into his old buildings. Fagan, who was dressed casually with his usual 'veltskoene', answered that he had given up all of this international journal subscriptions as he designs what is fitting for his country and my landscapes.

⁴³³ Detail of the individual proponents of the restoration will be covered in Appendix B.

⁴³⁴ Darke, "Afrikaner Nationalism," 166.

Both Fransen and the Fagans insisted that the Tulbagh restoration committee acted independently and that there was no top-down authority/process or political pressure influencing it. They do, however, acknowledge the political climate of the day and that some of the organisations and individuals who championed, funded and supported the Tulbagh restoration had direct or indirect links with various pro-nationalist Afrikaner development organisations. The pro-active committee was, however, keen to make the most of the opportunity that the earthquake had presented in Church Street and twice approached government for help (firstly for provisional declaration of National Monument status and then for patronage and funds). It seemed the Nationalists via the National Monuments Council were quick to jump at the opportunity to get involved in the restoration.⁴³⁵ It is my view that the National Party government, facing an increasingly hostile world as the anti-apartheid movement grew internationally, jumped at the chance of assisting with the reconstruction of a heroic Afrikaner past by recreating the early settlers' idyllic townscape.

The Tulbagh conservation blueprint is rolled out and 1970s socio-political context

This chapter provides a brief overview of the 1970s heritage context of the Tulbagh restoration, from when construction started in 1970 to after its 1974 inauguration. In particular I am interested in the references to the Tulbagh blueprint and then at the application of this conservation model to other towns of the Cape.⁴³⁶

The first suggestion that Tulbagh should be the forerunner of other conservations in the Boland was published in the Pretoria News a month after the earthquake.⁴³⁷ This idea of using the Tulbagh restoration as a 'model' upon which to base other large-scale restorations was also maintained by Revel Fox who, as early as 1971, pleaded for a wider approach to conservation, specifying that Tulbagh be used as a 'pilot study' in conservation to help inspire a national conservation policy.⁴³⁸

Hoogenhout continued this idea of a 'Tulbagh blueprint', as reported in a later article, 'The stately glory preserved for generations to come' – 'Our historical buildings are a strong, unmovable foundation on which generations to come can and must build their future... No better, or more convincing example, nor blueprint, nor more moving inspiration for the builders and conservers of the future, can be found than that of Church Street in Tulbagh.'⁴³⁹ These words seem prophetic in that many of the Tulbagh

⁴³⁵ Fransen and Fagan interviews on 5 July 2014.

⁴³⁶ Other significant conservations, museum expansions and memorialisations of the built environment between 1970 and 1990 are discussed in Appendix A.

⁴³⁷ Pretoria News, 30 October 1969. Out of the disaster something good is also born,'- 'One hopes that this big Tulbagh restoration will be the forerunner of other conservations in the Boland.'

⁴³⁸ Cape Times, 29 September 1971.

⁴³⁹ The Transvaaler Newspaper, 12 October 1979.

proponents did go on after 1974 to use the 'Tulbagh blueprint', firstly in Stellenbosch (1979), followed by Graaff-Reinet(1984) and finally Paarl (1987).

At the United Nations in 1972, UNESCO adopted the World Heritage Convention of which the Venice Charter was the corner stone, defining the framework for the characteristics of World Heritage ever since. In the same year however the UN Security Council also recognised both the legitimacy of the struggle against apartheid as well as the freedom movements, as the true representatives of the majority of the South African people. The countries ever deepening international isolation was epitomised by the 1973 OPEC embargo on oil exports to South Africa and then finally in 1974, the General Assembly suspended South Africa's membership of the United Nations.⁴⁴⁰ Despite growing political anxieties from the 1970s, the decades manifested in a great expansion of museums, memorials and the reconstruction of monumental Cape Dutch heritage, such as the Settler- and Taal Monuments. Within this context of the memorialisation of the colonial built environment, Tulbagh firmly takes its place⁴⁴¹.

An examination of contemporary 1970s and 1980s 'memorialisation' of the built environment demonstrates an expansion of the museums in the old Drostdy towns of Stellenbosch, Graaff-Reinet, Swellendam, Paarl, Worcester and even Mossel Bay. In virtually all these examples, the same group of heritage 'practitioners' Cook, Fagan, Visser, Fox oversaw the restorations. Significantly in the same year of 1974 when Church Street was inaugurated, so were numerous other monuments, including the Taal Monument in Paarl and the Settler Monument in Grahamstown. Rupert, his Historic Homes and the other Tulbagh proponents were all productive throughout these years and after Tulbagh, they turned their attention to the wholesale restoration of Stellenbosch (1979), Graaff-Reinet (1981), Swellendam (1985) and Paarl (1987). In light of these events, it seems clear that Tulbagh was the precursor of subsequent Cape heritage practices and developments.

International politics, isolation and non-compliance with the charters

An examination of many cases of reconstruction suggests that in many instances, a departure from the principles and spirit of the main 20th century conservation charters seems to encounter the mainstream of cultural capitalism and tourism. In many these economic forces are stronger than any identity considerations and effectively reduce the distance between heritage and theme parks.⁴⁴²

⁴⁴⁰ Giliomee and Mbenga, *New History*, 367.

⁴⁴¹ Appendix A, will examine these developments in more detail.

⁴⁴² Mager, *Architecture Re Performed*, 85.

The decision to reconstruct Tulbagh was not a whimsical decision. Neither was it driven by tourism concerns. Rather it was based on established South African conservation methodology backed up by widely supported restoration precedents and philosophy. It was felt the situation justified the need to reconstruct the town as closely as possible back to its 'gabled best'. The objectives of the charters were clearly counter to those of the Tulbagh proponents, driven by white nationalism and the need for a reconstructed identity, and so they simply could not be adhered to.

South Africa's deteriorating international political situation between 1959 and 1969 is significant to this research. Within a local situation of increasing political pressure, and removed from the international debate, South Africans were isolated from international 'thinking'; although from a modern information-age perspective. As justification for the prevalence of historic stylistic restorations in South Africa throughout the 20th century, it has been put forward that South Africa's 30 year political isolation after 1960 resulted in the local architectural fraternity being excluded from the 'exponential progress in conservation theories and methodologies experienced internationally'.⁴⁴³ It would, however, seem that this argument cannot be fully supported as contemporary international charters and journals were available in South Africa to both public and the profession and that numerous local architects also furthered their study in conservation abroad.^{444 445 446}

Darke suggests that there was no problem with communications between South Africa and the world in the 1960, '70s and '80s. If the local architectural conservation profession claims not to have been aware of the international UNESCO charters and the ethical practices and codes of conduct contained within them, it was not out of the country's political isolation.⁴⁴⁷ This research proposes that the Nationalist state and its arms, the private Afrikaner establishment and the architectural conservation profession in South Africa, all actively pursued 'full restoration' or 'restoration to best style' with the aim of the recreation of Dutch relics to reinforce the notion of white settler heritage in support their socio-political ideology.⁴⁴⁸

⁴⁴³ Buttgens, "Castle of Good Hope," 5.

⁴⁴⁴ Darke, "Afrikaner Nationalism," 109. Fagan, Visser and other members of the CPIA had subscriptions to *Restorica* and were members of the Simon van der Stel Foundation.

⁴⁴⁵ Nicola Darke reviewed the literature published in *Restorica* from 1960 to 1996, which revealed several texts regarding British, European and American conservation of building as document methodology, as well as the publication of the Venice charter in 1966, the year after it came into being. The increased access to post-graduate conservation studies abroad resulted in a shift in the conservation methodology debate within the profession and the CPIA from the 1980's onwards.

⁴⁴⁶ International travel and post-graduate studies were accessible to South African architects, who were either academics or well-known practitioners. These include Ivan Schlapobersky, Willie Meyer (1961), Francois Pienaar (1967), Floris Smith, (1967), Roelof Uitenbogaardt (1961), Danie Theron (1962), Jack Diamond, Glen Gallagher and Anthooney Lange, all completed Masters in city planning at the University of Manitoba, Canada in 1968. Basil Brink (1979) completed his Masters at the University of Delft. Other prominent contemporary architects who studied overseas in the 1970s were John Rennie (1973), Townsend (1985), Graham Jacobs (1986), Nicolas Bouman and Dennis Radford (1976)

⁴⁴⁷ Darke, "Afrikaner Nationalism," 126.

⁴⁴⁸ Darke, "Afrikaner Nationalism," 128.

CHAPTER 9

CONCLUSIONS

This study has shown how Cape Dutch architecture, and its iconic gable in particular, has been used as a cultural instrument by those in charge to reinforce a socio-political message. First the VOC, then the free burghers – followed by the British Imperialists – then the South African unionists and the apartheid Nationalists, all used traditional Cape Dutch architecture as a powerful tool in defining cultural identity, implementing nation-building and furthering their political aims.⁴⁴⁹ This appropriation demonstrates that the symbolic meaning attached to this architectural idiom of built heritage is flexible and has kept evolving to suit the political and cultural forces, which shaped the country.

The modern development of conservation best practice, and the polarised ideas on which this theory is based, evolved from the European arguments of the 1800s. The concern for maintaining authenticity and relevancy of historic sites resulted in very different ideas on what architectural conservation should entail and also the methods that should be employed to achieve it. It is these ideas that would go into the 20th century to manifest in the early and later UNESCO international conservation charters. UNESCO's architectural conservation position has been respected as a document of its day, as well as for all its various layers added over time - quite contrary to the idealised stylistic unity of the historicist conservation practice in Tulbagh. According to the principles of UNESCO, the streetscape of Tulbagh is a reconstruction and therefore cannot be deemed authentic in terms of the contemporary charters.⁴⁵⁰

The prevalent 20th century South African architectural conservation philosophy of 'restoration-to-best-period' was informed by local art and architectural historians and supported by continued appropriation of the Cape gable by the political overlords of the day, in an attempt to create a common heritage to

⁴⁴⁹ Darke, "Afrikaner Nationalism," 54. The significance of this Dutch architectural heritage to the Nationalist state is further demonstrated by the declaration and, more importantly, the creation of new, independent ownerships outside of direct state influence on numerous buildings. These buildings included the sale of the Tulbagh Drostdy in 1989, which lease was due to expire in 1994 (Argus 1989 –date missing from cutting), as well as De Tuinhuys, The Caste and Groot Constantia just before the first democratic election in 1994. These actions confirm the old white state's fear of loss or damage to these cultural icons as it was about to lose power to the ANC.

⁴⁵⁰ Darke, "Afrikaner Nationalism," 72.

unite South Africa's white groups. In pre-World War II South Africa, the stylistic architectural restorations by the likes of Kendal set a trend, thereafter followed by the conservation fraternity, including Eaton, Visser, Fagan and Fox. Although the apparent methodological/theoretical approach taken by these local exponents of architectural conservation is similar to that of Eugene Viollet-le-Duc in the 19th century, there is no explicit connection to Viollet-le-Duc as none of the local proponents have referred to his texts or to his methods directly. Indeed, it would appear as if the local architectural and conservation fraternity seemingly did not participate in the international conservation debate on any level.

Hand-in-hand with a supportive Union government, the role of the pioneering heritage crusaders and art historians of the early 20th century cannot be over-emphasised. The likes of Trotter, Fairbridge and Eaton were instrumental for not only the development of an appreciation for our built heritage, but also for the rudiments of a culture of conservation becoming established at the Cape. Significantly, these early heritage crusaders socialised with the wealthy politically unionist Cape elite and their mutual synergy and patronage inspired much of the early heritage promotion and protection up until the post-war era. In the first half of the 20th century there were many examples of South African Union government initiating and funding the conservation of iconic and monumental old Cape Dutch buildings. There were also examples of museums being established around the Cape, all of which demonstrates the lengths that the Union government was prepared to go to create a spirit of nation-building between the white races of the country.

To properly understand how and why Church Street was reconstructed after the earthquake back into its gabled Cape Dutch 'best', this research has examined reconstructive conservation projects both internationally and locally to demonstrate how social and political events of the 20th century led to each reconstruction. This process suggests that, in many cases, each event had an iterative or cumulative effect on the others. When the opportunity presented itself (in the form of an earthquake), these events, combined with the personalities involved and the aesthetic and heritage values of the day, resulted in the 'reconstructional' restoration of Church Street. This pioneering restoration further encouraged the pre-eminence of Cape Dutch on the national psyche and the popularity of heritage conservation on a national scale, whereby the 'Tulbagh blueprint' became the framework for nationwide conservation initiative of other Drostdy towns over the next 20 years, directly inspiring the large-scale restorations of these towns. An examination of contemporary 1970s and 1980s memorialisation of the built environment suggests that Tulbagh was not out of line with these heritage events.

The whole project took almost five years to complete and included restoring 28 main buildings and numerous outbuildings of Church Street as well as the Drostdy and a several damaged farmhouses in

the valley. It is apparent that the approach taken was justified due to the very deep symbolism of the restoration to the people involved. Hoogenhout summarised the conservation achievement as one of picturesque enchantment and the greatest and most important triumph of conservation in the country. 'A restoration project of this magnitude is a milestone in the cultural life of the country, a living cultural heritage to posterity.'⁴⁵¹ Based on statements like these from both Hoogenhout and Vorster, it could be deduced that a restored Church Street was offered as tangible proof of a glorious settler past and evidence of a 'unified' (white) national culture and thus perhaps implied a justification of continued rule. It appears that most architectural conservation efforts in SA during the 20th century could be seen as the stylistic predilections of those in charge to recapture a 'golden' (pre-Voortrekker) moment in a boldly invented, white South African colonial history.⁴⁵² In this context these restored streetscapes and towns take on the scale, connotations and spirit of cultural-political monuments to the dominant people of the time.

Heritage Creation or Cultural Curation: Nora differentiates between 'heritage creation' and 'cultural curation' (although not in so few words). Indeed the Fagans thought that they were 'curating existing culture' by stylistically restoring the street. However, Nora might say that they were removing all previous cultural history and just 'creating a new conventional heritage' instead. This is where Nora's ideas around oral history as 'real' culture versus conventional collective history come into play, suggesting that the threads of history are twisted by those in charge to construct national identity.⁴⁵³

'Heritage is the projection of a lost, mythical world, whereby material remnants of the past are re-imbued and saturated with association and interpretations by an official act of capture and containment'.⁴⁵⁴ I submit that these Rupert and his Historic Homes-driven restorations, although not initially politically motivated, are examples of social critique or 'criticism in action', where the elite and those in charge (contentiously representing Afrikaner public interest) had an opportunity to express their cultural values and national pride.⁴⁵⁵ Although not initiated by the state, Vorster's position of head patron brings a pervasive and clear tone of politics into the restoration and, although the project was not dominated by Nationalism, the project was clearly tainted with it. Despite the 'good' intentions of the proponents, the fact of the matter is that the South African government by and large financed most of the restoration costs demonstrates the importance of the restoration to the state, suggesting that it was indeed a manifestation of nationalism and act of white nation-building.

⁴⁵¹ Hoogenhout in Fagan and Fagan, *Church Street*, 11.

⁴⁵² Leibman, Yvonne, "The Actions of the State in the Production of Cultural Heritage – The Treatment of a Cultural Icon as Bearer of Values, Identity and Meaning at Groot Constantia in Cape Town," (M.Phil. diss., University of Cape Town, 2012).

⁴⁵³ Nora, *Between Memory*, 9 -16.

⁴⁵⁴ Murray, Shepherd and Hall, *Desire Lines*, 289.

⁴⁵⁵ Bonelli in Townsend, "Development Rights".

As a single composite heritage object, restored Church Street has both contemporary and historical significance. Through the process of its restoration, Tulbagh was imbued with a deep cultural significance for not only the proponents, but for Afrikaners as well as the white population in general. The restoration was completed in the spirit of the time and was relevant, culturally significant and deeply meaningful to the people of the day as both a 'feel good' news story and as the ideological focus of the recovery of the Boland after the earthquake, a nation-building project with which people could identify.

Despite conflicting arguments around what constitutes authenticity, the restoration 'to best' of Church Street also has a modern relevance. The reconstruction has indeed provided Tulbagh with both a reconstructed identity as well as a unique reservoir of cultural history, even if it is somewhat 'over-cured'. As intended by the original proponents, the restored street is now a major tourist draw-card and thus continues to benefit the current inhabitants of the town. As an officially remembered singular cultural monument, Church Street has tangibly captured the story of an out-numbered yet determined and remarkably resilient settler population at the southern tip of Africa.



Fig.85. The elaborate Fagan restored portal of the Old Church museum, 40 years after restoration with Marcel and Jayson Augustyn-Clark on their wedding day.

CHAPTER 10

EPILOGUE – REMEMBERING THE FORGOTTEN

The vanished non-white settlements and significant buildings of the Tulbagh valley



Fig.86. The earthquake shattered non-white communities of Tulbagh (from www.4x4community.co.za).

Underneath the gentrified façade of many a Cape streetscape lies another story - that of disenfranchisement, disempowerment and relocation of non-white communities. The effect of the Group Areas Act and the forced removals during the 1960s of people of colour from urban and rural centres is not fully documented. It appears that the earthquake played into the hands of the Group Areas administrators of Tulbagh, who were quick to demolish any buildings owned or occupied by non-whites located in areas declared 'white'. What remains of the memory of the built heritage of these communities become history in 2015, when the Tulbagh museums curated a permanent exhibition of the post- earthquake destruction of several Coloured hamlets around Tulbagh. This tragic event and its effect on the relocated communities remains under-acknowledged, under-researched and under-published. The destruction of these vernacular settlements affirms that they were not considered to be heritage according to the values and priorities of the day.

Drostdy Village

In 1816, a small village was established three kilometres North of Tulbagh to accommodate the officials who worked at the Drostdy. Six blocks of ten erven each, were originally planned but only fifteen erven were actually granted, including Jackson's cottage (T-shaped, with two straight ends, and one half-hip but no front gable).⁴⁵⁶ A house called 'Vrede', dated 1810, was probably one of the Drostdy's official's houses. It was H shaped and had a pointed holbol gable.

In the 1960s, the mixed-race village was declared 'white' under the Group Areas Act. The hamlet by then consisted of 'more than ten houses/cottages', including a shop, school and post office.⁴⁵⁷ After the earthquake, Fagan produced a list of the cottages and buildings at the Drostdy Village that would be recommended to the NMC. The TRC however felt that they were unable to be in a position to help the (coloured) owners of these cottages and that Fagan and Malan should in the name of the committee petition the government to assist. The committee acknowledged the actual Drostdy building itself as their priority in the Drostdy Village due to its significance and uncertain future and recommended the purchase of the building with a suitable piece of ground around it.⁴⁵⁸



Fig.87. Jacksons Cottage, the sole survivor of the old Drostdy Village was also restored by the Fagans and declared a National Monument.

In 1970, the earthquake-damaged village was demolished leaving only one cottage (Jackson's Cottage- Mrs Jackson was white)⁴⁵⁹ and one modern shop (since abandoned and now derelict) as a memory of

⁴⁵⁶ Fransen and Cook, *Old Houses of the Cape* (Cape Town: AA Balkema, 1964,) 181

⁴⁵⁷ Fagan interview, 21 Sept 2016.

⁴⁵⁸ Agenda of the TRC, 26 March 1970 in SAHRA files.

⁴⁵⁹ Ibid.

the forgotten community. The residents were largely relocated to the Coloured township/Witzenville, east of the Tulbagh village.⁴⁶⁰

Steinthal Mission Station

Steinthal was established in 1843 on part of the original grant of Witzenberg, about 3km North of Tulbagh. The mission was intended by the Rhenish Mission Society to be a refuge for freed slaves who were able to build their own houses and plant their own crops. The mission had the customary thatched and whitewashed cottages, several of which were already by 1965 in 'bad condition or past repair'. One of the houses had a straight centre gable – an unusual feature in mission villages – and is generally less modest than the others; perhaps it was the house of the sexton. A school which served as a church on Sunday was built for small children, the land however remained the property of the Rhenish and later the Dutch Reformed church and residents paid an annual rent to the church.⁴⁶¹



Fig.88. Rows of shattered vernacular cottages at Steinthal with the furnishings and belongings of the inhabitants left out of doors (photo from *Die Burger* 1 October 1969).

⁴⁶⁰ Van Zyl, *Tulbagh*, 111.

⁴⁶¹ Fransen and Cook, *Old Houses*, 184.

Steinthal was devastated by the earthquake, (the actual geological fault line runs through the mission), which destroyed the historical farmstead, other buildings belonging to the Church, as well as most of the old 'slave' cottages. The orphanage building collapsed entirely killing 11 children. All 250 coloured children would later be relocated to an orphanage in Somerset West.⁴⁶²



Fig.89. The only gabled building (now vanished) at Steinthal as photographed by Elliott in the early 1900s (From Fransen and Cook, Old Houses).

Because Steinthal was church property, the Disaster Fund was used only to build houses for the employees of the Children's home and its farm. Other (coloured) residents had to move to new houses in the new Witzenville area. The old school was repaired via the NMC and proclaimed as a National Monument and now serves as a library for a newly-built children's home and a memory of the original mission settlement, of which nothing else remains.⁴⁶³

⁴⁶² From the Tulbagh Museums exhibition.

⁴⁶³ From the Tulbagh Museums exhibition

Helpmekaar



Fig.90. Ravenscroft photo shows part of Helpmekaar on the far right of the formal Victorian village (from National Archives).

From around 1900, coloured people were permitted to settle and build houses on municipal land on the edge of Tulbagh town. The settlement developed into a settlement of neat rows of vernacular thatched cottages, so that by 1966 Tulbagh village virtually encircled it. Under Group Areas, Tulbagh village and its Helpmekaar settlement was declared white and a number of the coloured families left Helpmekaar at this time. (Some coloured residents had already acquired ownership rights, while other white owners leased their houses to coloured families). In 1969 the cottages were all severely damaged by the earthquake and the remaining coloured residents were given new houses in Witzenville. Thereafter the site was bulldozed and sold to white residents who built modern suburban houses. The Helpmekaar community only survives in the memory of its older residents.⁴⁶⁴



Fig. 91. Aerial of Helpmekaar in 1948 showing an informal layout and surrounded by Tulbagh village's grid system of roads (map from the Mapping place in Mowbray).

⁴⁶⁴ From the Tulbagh Museums exhibition

Stasieweg (Station Road)

After the railroad came to the valley, a hamlet of privately owned houses grew around Tulbagh Road Station, five kilometres south of Tulbagh village. Virtually all the buildings were damaged by the earthquake and seemingly demolished – only the old school building remained. Even the station buildings were later demolished.⁴⁶⁵



Fig.92. Ravenscroft photograph from about 1900 showing the vanished Tulbagh Station Road settlement (from Cape Archive collection).



Fig.93. Unknown and undated newspaper cutting from UCT archives captioned, 'Old-world loveliness – This charming farm-house has stood for many a year near the entrance to the Tulbagh Kloof, quite near the main road and station'.

⁴⁶⁵ From the Tulbagh Museums exhibition

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Appendix A

The 'Tulbagh' blueprint and its 1970/80s conservation context

The first suggestion that Tulbagh should be the forerunner of other conservations in the Boland was published in the Pretoria News a month after the earthquake, 'Out of the disaster something good is also born - one hopes that this big Tulbagh restoration will be the forerunner of other conservations in the Boland'.⁴⁶⁶ This idea of using the Tulbagh restoration as a 'model' upon which to base other large-scale restorations was also maintained by Revel Fox who, as early as 1971, pleaded for a wider approach to conservation, specifying that Tulbagh be used as a 'pilot study' in conservation to help inspire a national conservation policy.⁴⁶⁷

Hoogenhout continued this idea of a 'Tulbagh blueprint', as reported in a later article, 'The stately glory preserved for generations to come' – 'Our historical buildings are a strong, unmovable foundation on which generations to come can and must build their future... No better, or more convincing example, nor blueprint, nor more moving inspiration for the builders and conservers of the future, can be found than that of Church Street in Tulbagh'.⁴⁶⁸ These words seem prophetic in that many of the Tulbagh proponents did go on after 1974 to use the 'Tulbagh blueprint', firstly in Stellenbosch (1979), followed by Graaff-Reinet(1984) and finally Paarl (1987).

1972 and in the same year the UN Security Council recognised both the legitimacy of the struggle against apartheid as well as the freedom movements, as the true representatives of the majority of the South African people. The countries ever deepening international isolation was epitomised by the 1973 OPEC embargo on oil exports to South Africa and then finally in 1974, the General Assembly suspended South Africa's membership of the United Nations. Also at this time and of great concern to the apartheid government, a coup in Portugal leads to independence for both Angola and Mozambique, both neighbouring countries of South Africa. To thwart this transfer of power to what were considered by the SA State to be black communists; S.A. armed forces invade Angola in what would become an armed campaign to destabilize the region to achieve SA's security objectives.⁴⁶⁹ In the mid-1970s, Mozambique and Angola become independent and full members of the United Nations and in response in 1976.

⁴⁶⁶ Pretoria News, 30 October 1969.

⁴⁶⁷ Cape Times, 29 September 1971.

⁴⁶⁸ The Transvaler, 12 October 1979.

⁴⁶⁹ Giliomee and Mbenga, *New History*, 370.

Significantly these years of 1976/7 would also be remembered for the Soweto uprising, where at least 575 people died in township unrest mostly in the Transvaal province.

In contrast to this bleak political reality, the mid 1970' saw three important colonial cultural inaugurations, a number of significant reconstructions and the initiation of a master plan to transform the historic core of Stellenbosch. Early in March of 1974, a fully restored 'Church Street in Het Land van Waveren', was unveiled by the then prime Minister the Hon. B.J. Vorster in a grand state occasion attended by VIP's, dignitaries and politicians.

In November of the same year, the 1820 Colonial National Monument was inaugurated in Grahamstown and the town played host to a significant conference on the Conservation of the South African Urban Heritage, which aimed at the protection and conservation of entire streetscapes as well as the historical character of old towns.⁴⁷⁰ Then in early in 1975 the Taalmonument was inaugurated in Paarl, after ten years of fund raising, designing, planning and eventual building. The monument to the Afrikaans language was inaugurated in front of 40 000 people, with the official dedication speech being delivered by the then Prime Minister, Mr. B.J. Vorster.

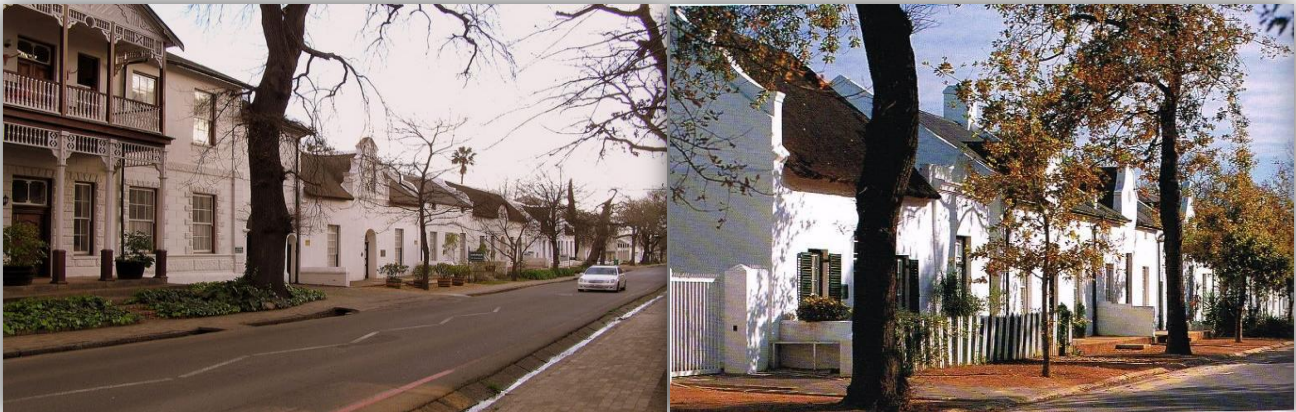


Fig.94. Historic Dorp & Herte Streets are a mix of Cape Dutch and Georgian styles of architecture (http://www.trekearth.com/gallery/Africa/South_Africa/West/Western_Cape/Stellenbosch/photo716003.htm).

In Stellenbosch in 1974 and in anticipation of the upcoming 1979 celebration of the 300th anniversary of the establishment of the town, Anton Rupert and his Rembrandt group, along with the now familiar role players Historical Homes and Simon Van der Stel organisations, established the 'Stellenbosch 300 Action' committee. As with Tulbagh, the Stellenbosch 300 proposal was illustrated in a 50 page hardcover book which laments the past demolitions, tasteless additions and changes to the original Cape Dutch built heritage of the town.

⁴⁷⁰ Kearney, Brian, "Grahamstown; A pilot study in conservation," In *Thinking in Shadow, selected papers on architecture* (Natal: University of Natal, 1974,) 2 and 70.

The restoration and preservation of the historic heart of Stellenbosch should be one of the most spectacular contributions to this celebration. It will also be a long lasting contribution which, long after the festivities are over, will provide delight and inspiration not only for the inhabitants of the town, but for all South Africans. This is a cause for more than mere local interest, for Stellenbosch is a proud possession for the whole country.⁴⁷¹

Gables in particular are highlighted as the manifestation of this heritage.⁴⁷² Although the book is devoid of any imagery or praise for Victorian buildings, it is noted under their tasks, that some streets have distinctive character of late Victorian and Edwardian times, which well reflects the style of the period and contribute to the atmosphere of historic Stellenbosch. The book acknowledges the Cape Provincial Administration, Historic homes of SA, the Rembrandt Tobacco Corporation, the Stellenbosch Churches and the N.M.C. In particular the Stellenbosch branch of the Simon van der Stel foundation is singled out as the source and channel of much of this enthusiasm... 'all of whom have contributed so much to freshen the old image of Stellenbosch'.

The committee's objective was stated as the 'comprehensive conservation and restoration' for initially Dorp Street and then later for other historic streets in central Stellenbosch. This committee was a non-profit making company formed to arouse interest, collect and disseminate information and mobilize capital. The Stellenbosch restoration campaign aimed to protect the historic heart of Stellenbosch, where according the promotional book entitled *Stellenbosch- Our Oldest Village*, 'many of the streets still contained enough of their historic atmosphere to make them worthy of conserving in their entirety'. The book lists some of their defining principles, the organisation set out their aims as:

- Delimitation and proclamation of the area
- No further demolition of old buildings in this area
- Purchase of properties from owners who are unwilling to restore
- Removal of unsightly additions, such as balconies, veranda, and lean-tos that are not 'in keeping'
- The resurrection of certain characteristic buildings previously demolished
- Ensuring that modern buildings are completely sympathetic in style

⁴⁷¹ Smuts, F., C.K. Johnman, and Willem D. Malherbe, *Stellenbosch - Our Oldest Village*, (Cape Town: National Commercial Printers, 1974,) 1.

⁴⁷² Ibid., 13.

- Complete restoration of the area so that it will eventually have the appearance as far as is possible that it has in the 'days of its true bloom'.⁴⁷³

At the back of the promotional book exists a pull out map showing a hypothetical 'Stellenbosch at its most picturesque around 1860'. As with the Tulbagh promotion booklet from five years earlier, this Stellenbosch booklet provided illustrations of many of the houses that were to be the focus of the proposed restoration, and all the houses appeared at their pre-industrial 'Cape Dutch best', with reconstructed gables and without Victorian embellishments such as cast iron verandas and ornamentation.

*'If a building is interesting or beautiful enough to be worthy of preservation, it is worth taking the trouble to see that it is correctly restored, especially in external aspect. Old architecture is primarily on the art of the façade: one judges and is impressed by what one sees on the outside. Correct restorations are best ensured by following the advice of experts and ensuring that their advice is faithfully carried out (i.e. authentically).'*⁴⁷⁴

Historical Homes initiated the five year restoration with the purchase of 24 historic buildings in Dorp Street including Libertas Parva, Ackermann house and La Gratitude. The Stellenbosch municipality then stepped in to restore other sections of Dorp Street, as well as other important buildings such as Bergzicht and the Grosvenor House museum complex. Further to these, the Cape Provincial Administration was also responsible for the restoration of the 'Rhenish corner', while various Church bodies and many private individuals took steps to restore their properties in line with the ambitions of the Stellenbosch 300 Action group.⁴⁷⁵ It is worth noting that Anton Rupert had intended to rebuild from scratch an imitation of the original gabled Stellenbosch Drostdy building, which although it still existed had been modernised beyond recognition. Fierce opposition to Rupert's plan, based on the notion that 'authentic and contemporary buildings were the essence of Stellenbosch and that replicas, no matter how well motivated were unwelcome', eventually persuaded him to abandon the plan.⁴⁷⁶

It is less known, however, that it was during these years that Stellenbosch's Coloured urban population was largely jettisoned from their cottages in the central town and 'many' of the historic vernacular buildings being demolished as part of the town's gentrification under the Group Areas Act. There are, however, a few cottages remaining in Banhoek Road, which now look very smart and quite unrelated to

⁴⁷³ Ibid, 36.

⁴⁷⁴ Ibid, 42.

⁴⁷⁵ Ibid, 43.

⁴⁷⁶ Dommissie, *Anton Rupert*, 365.

the community which had lived there for hundreds of years.⁴⁷⁷ As a result of 'Stellenbosch 300 conservations' and its legacy, between 1977 to 1989, the NMC proclaimed an ever-increasing number of Stellenbosch buildings with a view to their *preservation for posterity*. Between 1970 and 1986 alone 76 sites in central Stellenbosch were declared, most of which were early and mid-Cape gabled buildings.⁴⁷⁸



Fig.95. Reconstructed Bletterman House (https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:9_2_084_0050-Bletterman_House-Stellenbosch-s.jpg).

A late addition to Stellenbosch 300 reconstruction programme was the 1979 purchase by the Stellenbosch museums of a 'severely Victorianised' Bletterman House. Dirk Visser was brought in to supervise the restoration of the house back to its 1789 appearance, which included all reconstructed gables, a new thatch roof structure and much period-styled joinery. Despite this last example, as opposed to Church Street in Tulbagh, a walk along Dorp Street in 2016, will still reveal a sense of historical layering on many of the old buildings, manifested by clipped gables, with Victorian joinery and verandas. This suggests that the Stellenbosch restoration was not as severe or drastic as that of Tulbagh. This may be because there was never an earthquake in Stellenbosch, or because the programme was not orchestrated on the same national level or just because individual owners set limits on what they were prepared to do or could afford to do. A critical analysis of the scope and outcome of the Stellenbosch 300 restoration Graaff-Reinet 200 that followed needs to be the focus of a more intense study by someone else.

⁴⁷⁷ Fransen, Hans, *Old Towns and Villages of the Cape* (Jeppestown: Jonathan Ball Publishers, 2006,) 66.

⁴⁷⁸ SAHRA, National monument declarations (Western Cape, 2000).

Also during the mid/late 1970's in Graaff-Reinet, Historic Homes undertook the complete reconstruction of the Drostdy Hotel with the aim of 'beautifying to retain the old-world charm of our historic town'. The intention from the start was to incorporate the building into the newly renovated Stretch Court complex to provide super luxury accommodation for the anticipated influx of tourists.⁴⁷⁹ Dirk Visser was appointed as the architect, who commented in his report that, 'apart from a few doors and beams, hardly anything remained of the original building and thus the decision to restore the building must therefore be seen as tremendously daring and presenting the most powerful challenge.'⁴⁸⁰

It would seem that this significant reconstruction formed part of Rupert's plan for the restoration of Graff-Reinet as a Cape Dutch town. His philanthropic gesture was based partly on the fact that Graff-Reinet was his home town and that much of the architecture of the town was intact with numerous Cape Dutch buildings remaining unaltered. Rupert, as an Afrikaner and businessman, was part of the Afrikaner establishment, a connection demonstrated by the inaugural speech of the Prime Minister at the hotel's opening in 1977.⁴⁸¹ Vorster praised Historical Homes on behalf of all population groups for the very important task undertaken with the preservation of so much of our most precious human-made cultural legacy.⁴⁸² Both the project and the inaugural speech confirm the importance of Cape Dutch heritage to the Nationalist regime.⁴⁸³ The clear aim of this *stylistic* reconstruction was the demolition of the British Victorian building and reinstating their idealised 'original' building- the re-instatement of Dutch/VOC architecture. The presentation of an ISSA merit award in 1979 to Visser, once again confirms the architectural institute's support for stylistic reconstructions and restorations.⁴⁸⁴ The declaration of the Drostdy as a National Monument in 1981, provides insight into what the NMC viewed authentic and worthy of formal protection; the NMC would go on over the next two decades to declare a further 237 sites in Graff-Reinet.⁴⁸⁵

⁴⁷⁹ Minutes of Reinet Development Foundation, 1974. In Historic Homes archive.

⁴⁸⁰ Dirk Visser, architects report, 1977. In Historic Homes archives.

⁴⁸¹ Darke, "Afrikaner Nationalism", 120.

⁴⁸² Dommissie, *Anton Rupert*, 361.

⁴⁸³ Murray, et al, *Desire Lines*, 3.

⁴⁸⁴ Darke, "Afrikaner Nationalism", 121.

⁴⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 108.



Fig.96. Zandtdrift and Mayville House post restoration (https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Mayville,_Swellendam.JPG).

The mid 1970's were also a period of rapid expansion of the Swellendam Museum, which grew from the Drostdy and its reconstructed ambagswerf into a complex of adjacent properties. First, a dilapidated Zandtdrift house was relocated to a plot neighbouring the Drostdy Museum. Much of the original materials as well as woodwork, fenestration and details were reused and a dormer gable and other missing elements replicated. The new Zandtdrift was officially opened in 1977 by Douglas Hey, Director of Nature and Environmental Conservation for the Provincial Administration of the Cape of Good Hope.⁴⁸⁶ The following year Mayville House was officially opened after a four year restoration. The building had been bequeathed to the museum by the last owner, whose family had owned the Drostdy complex since the 1840s and who left instructions in her will that the house was to be taken back to its 1887 appearance. The restoration was supervised by Dr. Mary Cook and involved the removal of the veranda, replacing the tin roof with thatch, inserting a dormer gable and reinstating the period windows.⁴⁸⁷

In 1977/8 the apartheid government banned all the organisations associated with the Black Consciousness movement and controversially after his arrest Steve Biko died of injuries inflicted while in police custody.⁴⁸⁸ South Africa started production of enriched uranium for a soon to be completed nuclear bomb and P.W. Botha suddenly became Prime Minister after Vorster resigned owing to his complacency in the 'information scandal' which evolved the state funding of a local newspaper.⁴⁸⁹ Despite these political realities, these years saw two more significant museum expansions as well as a number of Cape Dutch reconstructions. Firstly, the old Cape Dutch 'Residency of the Magistrate of Graaff-Reinet' in Parsonage Street was donated by the State as an annex to the Reinet House Museum and a full restoration initiated and secondly in Worcester, an open air museum of relocated folk buildings

⁴⁸⁶ Thomas, *Drostdy Museum*, 66.

⁴⁸⁷ Ibid., 2007.

⁴⁸⁸ Giliomee and Mbenga, *New History*, 306.

⁴⁸⁹ Giliomee and Mbenga, *New History*, 367.

was erected at Kleinplaspie.⁴⁹⁰ This idea had been championed by Walton in the 1950s, when he had urged more detailed regional studies of the country's architectural history. The late 70's also saw a number of significant restorations including those by South African architect Dirk Visser. Visser's reconstructions of the Nova Constantia Manor House and the Posthuis in Muizenberg, back into their hypothetical 18th and 17th -century appearances thus continued the tradition of stylistic restoration at the Cape.

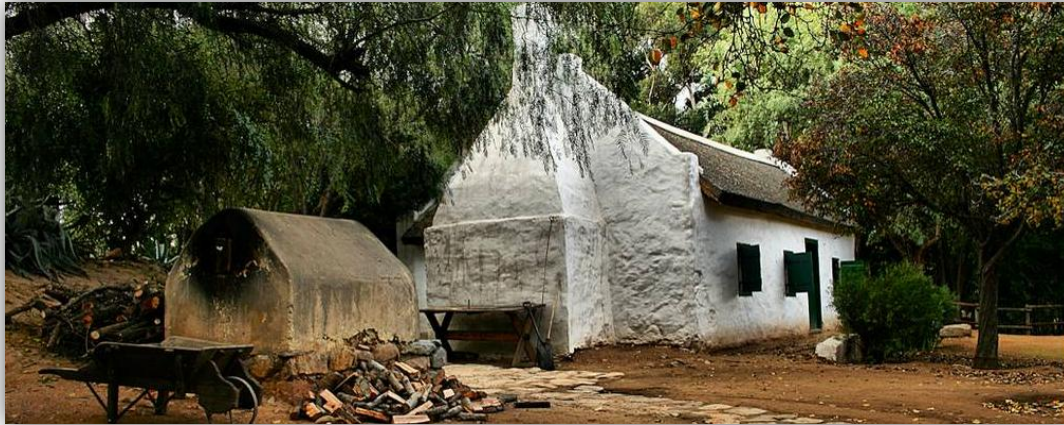


Fig.97. Kleinplaspie museum at Worcester consists of a collection of reconstructed vernacular buildings (from Kleinplaspie.co.za).

The 1980s

Tumultuous political events in the early 1980's shocked many South Africans and yet gave hope to others. After a landslide election victory, a socialist inclined liberation movement headed by Robert Mugabe took power in Rhodesia. Zimbabwe thus became South Africa's latest 'black liberation' neighbour and a member of the United Nations. This was followed by SADF raids into Mozambique and Lesotho and the ANC starts a campaign of guerrilla bombings in Pretoria, Johannesburg, Pietermaritzburg and Durban.

Towards the end of 1980 Reinet House, the previously reconstructed and much celebrated parsonage of Graaff-Reinet, partly burns down and a two-year restoration strategy was initiated by the Graaff-Reinet Museum. Funding came largely from public subscription and a state grant.⁴⁹¹ The disaster was used as an opportunity in 1981 to initiate the Save Reinet Foundation, and thereby realize (Anton Rupert's) long cherished dream of a recreated historical nucleus' in Graaff-Reinet. The Simon van der Stel foundation had in 1970 already called for the whole of Parsonage Street to be preserved. Mary Cook described the

⁴⁹⁰ Westby-Nunn, Tony. *Graaff-Reinet: An illustrated historical guide to the town; including Aberdeen and Nieu-Bethesda* (Cape Town: Elephant Hills Publishers, 2004).

⁴⁹¹ Minnaar, *Graaff-Reinet*, 145.

street as 'about as perfect a street as exists anywhere in the Cape'.⁴⁹² The foundation had as its aim the restoration of the facades of the remaining 400 historic homes in 20 street blocks of the old town for the 'purpose of recreating the historical and traditional character of old Graaff-Reinet'. In total 250 mostly flat roof Karoo style vernacular buildings were restored by stripping away 'insensitive modern additions', while at the same time virtually all of these restored houses were proclaimed national monuments.^{493 494} The PR brochure published by the Save Reinet Foundation contains an introduction by the State President appealing to the spirit of the 'pioneer' and 'patriot' to preserve their 'native roots' for generations to come. The Mayor elaborated on this to 'restore and preserve as a deeply significant cultural heritage for posterity, the places where our forefathers (including leaders of the great trek) lived, worked, prayed and relaxed'. Nationwide support was garnered in the form of patrons from all levels of government as well as fifteen professional architectural, historical and heritage organisations.⁴⁹⁵ The brochure concludes with the statement: *'Every rand subscribed to 'Save Reinet' is an investment in the inalienable cultural heritage of our Fatherland. 'Vir Volk en Vaderland'.*⁴⁹⁶



Fig.98. Graaff-Reinet's single-storey flat roof streetscape was part of a 20 street block conservation (<http://southcoastherald.co.za/126916/tent-travels-the-town-they-call-the-jewel-of-the-karoo/>).

⁴⁹² Simon Van Der Stel Foundation Bulletin June 1970 (21), 52-53.

⁴⁹³ Historic Homes of South Africa, "Corporate brochure and annual report. 2012." Stellenbosch: Historic Homes, 2012, 27.

⁴⁹⁴ Dommisie, *Anton Rupert*, 458 - 459.

⁴⁹⁵ Save Reinet Foundation. *Save Graaff-Reinet* (Stellenbosch: Save Reinet Foundation, 1981), 20.

⁴⁹⁶ Interview with Peter Whitlock Chairman of the Graaff-Reinet Historical Association in 2014. Gerard Froneman from Historic Homes headed up the Graaff-Reinet operations and implementing design decisions. Despite his extensive acquired knowledge of restoration projects, among other things by visiting colonial Williamsburg in Virginia. Froneman was not a qualified architect. During the restoration only standard sized windows were used irrespective of the material evidence exposed in the actual building during the restoration. In many cases plaster moldings, veranda designs and parapet designs were all also standardised which has resulted in a loss of the richness of detailing and its variety.

At the United Nations in 1972, UNESCO adopted the World Heritage Convention of which the Venice Charter was the corner stone, defining the framework for the characteristics of World Heritage. Nevertheless, reconstructions have made their way onto the World Heritage list time and time again. Increasing numbers of charters and declarations concerning architectural preservation have loosed this strict attitude.⁴⁹⁷ Although a building can only be reproduced, it should only be done so as a result of our knowledge, not as a source for it. Historicity is not reproducible; therefore it seems misleading to designate them as monuments or heritage.⁴⁹⁸

The standards set by the Venice charter became subject to challenge in the postmodern age as the austere principles of modern architecture crumbled to give way to a new devotion towards historicism. This is exemplified by the Council of Europe declaring 1975 as the European Architectural Heritage Year which accompanied the rediscovery of the neglected historic city centres. On closer inspection however, it would appear that this new attention was less historical interest and had more to do with aesthetics; the mere affection for the picturesque qualities of historical works.⁴⁹⁹ In regards to aesthetics, Hall says: 'the complex combinations of fashion and necessity' which create a palimpsest of styles and appearances are much more representative of historical reality' that the pursuit of 'aesthetic continuity'.

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Architectural monuments are not only gourmets; they are suggestive documents of history in the services of the masses. Even if they are deprived of their antiquarian values, they fulfil the didactic and emotional function. The issue of monuments is a key issue for society – it is an issue national culture. We can not apply to this issue a one sided abstract theory. We have to consider the needs of the present.⁵⁰¹

In Australia in 1979 the first version of the Burra Charter was adopted by Australia ICOMOS. The charter sustained the '*Building-as-Document*' philosophy, emphasizing the importance of '*existing fabric*' as well as the '*cultural significance*' of a site. The charter goes beyond Venice by specifying the conservation process to be followed, from detailed research, to statements of cultural significance and by stressing the

⁴⁹⁷ Mager, *Architecture Re Performed*, 6.

⁴⁹⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹⁹ That same year 1974, Umberto Eco, one of Europe's leading intellectuals, witnesses a change in peoples' attitudes towards works of art in particular and towards reality in general. He describes a 'hyper-reality', a condition that seems more realistic than reality itself. Concerning architectural reconstruction, hyper reality refers to the denial of a buildings history and its character as a historical document. Truly striking in this regard is that along with a post modern more casual attitude towards the problem of authenticity, the attitude towards to heritage in general has changed.

⁵⁰⁰ Townsend, "Development Rights," 206.

⁵⁰¹ Mager, *Architecture Re Performed*, 30.

importance of public participation. The charter importantly includes definitions of Conservation, Restoration and Reconstruction.⁵⁰²

If we observe the recent proliferation of architectural clones from old or key buildings from the architecture of the 20th century, there is not a fragmentary or episodically phenomenon, but a true trend of which the motivations for which the motivations should be known'. ICOMOS adopted a resolution in 2011 to initiate a debate of this growing phenomenon, noting the increasing disregard of existing theoretical principles for the justification of reconstructing and a new tendency towards significant commercialisation of reconstruction activities.⁵⁰³

In 1982 the Van Der Stel Foundation organised the Potchefstroom Restoration Symposium and produced what is termed the 'Potch Charter'. Arranged in co-operation with the Museum Service of the Transvaal Provincial Administration, the Education Committee of the Southern African Museums Association and the Potchefstroom Museum. The symposium was therefore based on a partnership between the Simon van der Stel Foundation and the state. The sixty five delegates included representatives of national conservation bodies, members of the South African Museums Association, provincial museum service, individual museums, state departments, universities and architects involved in restoration. Gawie Fagan and Brian Bassett (then Deputy Director of the NMC) were two of the most prominent professionals present at the event.⁵⁰⁴

The symposium programme was 'designed to discuss restoration in all its stages'.⁵⁰⁵ The principles and definitions however seem to clearly mimic the long disused theoretical position of Violet-le-Duc' from a century earlier.⁵⁰⁶ At the symposium, definitions of terms of Restoration, Reconstruction and Rehabilitation were specified which were quite out of line with the definitions contained in the earlier International charters and the Burra Charter of 1979. For example, the Potchefstroom charter argues that:

- 'Restoration – is the professional repair of a structure /site as far as possible to ONE stage of its history, by using all available information as it its origin, history and future use, with the purpose

⁵⁰² Definitions supplied in glossary

⁵⁰³ Mager, *Architecture Re Performed*, 83. Ascencion Martenez (Spanish art historian) wrote in 2007.

⁵⁰⁴ Simon van der Stel Foundation. "Restoration Symposium -- Aanbevole rigly vir restourasie van strukture en terreine in Suid-Africa". *Restorica Journal* 13 (April 1983): 40.

⁵⁰⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁰⁶ Darke, "Afrikaner Nationalism," 2 & 115.

of securing its future survival'.⁵⁰⁷ This definition is very much in keeping with the conservation methods of both Viollet-le-Duc which implies a stylistic restoration⁵⁰⁸.

- 'Reconstruction – is the re-creation of a structure of part thereof, based on reliable and extensive research and documentation'.⁵⁰⁹ This contradicts articles 7, 8, 9, 10 and 11 of the Venice charter and the general principles of the Athens charter
- 'Design guidelines', define in detail the 'determination to period' to which the building should be restored and then states that the 'structure should only be restored to ONE stage in its history' and that 'aspects of the period to which the structure is restored should be scientifically justifiable'.⁵¹⁰
- The method of 'execution of restoration' requires that 'where missing parts are replaced they should be historically correct, and in harmony with the entirety, with the use of 'original techniques and materials'.

This drafting of the 'Potch Charter', ignored available international texts on the conservation debate, an action which highlights the intention of both the profession and the state to pursue a conservation stylistic methodology regardless of the international positions pertaining to architectural monuments and sites.^{511 512} The symposium is significant to this study as it was attended by most of the proponents of the Tulbagh restoration and thus suggests their philosophical mindsets had not changed over the proceeding 13 years.

In 1984 the picturesque little mining town of Pilgrim's Rest was restored to its late 19th -century appearance by the former Transvaal Administration, in consultation with Anton Rupert and Historical Homes Ltd. Politically however the times are remembered for the new constitution of the Republic, which gives Asians and Coloured people, (but not Africans) limited participation in the South African political system. This was also the start of prolonged and widespread resistance in black South African townships which resulted in violent government reactions and the imposition of a general 'State of Emergency'. In 1986 Dirk Visser undertakes the stylistic 'reconstructive restoration' of Valkenberg Manor House on the banks of the Liesbeek River.⁵¹³

⁵⁰⁷ Simon van der Stel Foundation, "Restoration Symposium," 58.

⁵⁰⁸ Darke, "Afrikaner Nationalism," 116.

⁵⁰⁹ Simon van der Stel Foundation, "Restoration Symposium," 58.

⁵¹⁰ Restorica, 1983:58.

⁵¹¹ Darke, "Afrikaner Nationalism," 116.

⁵¹² It is worth noting that the very next page of the same Restorica magazine, featured a two page spread on UNESCO and all the charters as well as an interesting interpretation of the Venice charter which is substantially edited, assumingly so as not to contradict the resolutions and definitions put forward by the Potchefstroom 'charter' on the previous page.

⁵¹³ Darke, "Afrikaner Nationalism," 48.

In 1987 Paarl celebrated its tri-centenary with a large cultural festival. In anticipation of the event, a number of the old houses in Paarl's Main Road were restored back to their Cape Dutch 'best' appearance while others were restored in their Victorianised form.⁵¹⁴ Once again Anton Rupert at the head of his Rembrandt Group established the Paarl 300 Foundation (along with other role players including the Historical Homes organisation, Paarl Municipality, KWV and the National Monuments Council). They appointed a committee, which in turn appointed an expert to manage and assess applications and report back to the committee. Finances were controlled by a KWV staff member appointed as financial director. Funding was by means of soft loans with conditions (e.g. repayable upon sale within a certain period) or part loan part subsidy limited to a small part of the cost.⁵¹⁵ Between 1979 and 1994, 80 sites in old Paarl were declared by the National Monuments Council including 64 buildings in the Main Road alone, many in an attempt to prevent a threatened road-widening project.⁵¹⁶

In 1989, the Victoria Hotel and Karoo Tuishuise of Market Street in the later Drostdy town of Cradock were unveiled after a nine year restoration effort involving 25 Karoo styled houses mostly dating from the 1800s. The funding was entirely private and the job completed by the owners of the hotel. This is a wonderful example of private enterprise taking the initiative in a large conservation project.⁵¹⁷



Fig.99. Restored 'Tuishuise' in Cradock (from <http://www.karoo-information.co.za/routes/business/6155/die-tuishuise-and-ictoria-manor>).

⁵¹⁴ Len Raymond interview, 14 August 2014.

⁵¹⁵ Ibid.

⁵¹⁶ SAHRA, "National Monument declarations," 2000.

⁵¹⁷ Fransen, *Old Towns*, 35.

In 1989 F.W. de Klerk became State president and released several ANC leaders from jail.⁵¹⁸ Later that year Samuel Nujoma, president of SWAPO (The South West African Peoples Organisation) became the first black liberation president of Namibia after a U.N. supervised election. The decade ended with the U.N. General Assembly adoption of the 'Declaration on Apartheid and its Destructive Consequences in Southern Africa', calling for negotiations to end apartheid. De Klerk responded in 1990 by lifting the ban on the ANC and several other organisations. The release of Nelson Mandela from incarceration marked the symbolic end of the dominance of Afrikaner Nationalism over South African culture and society.⁵¹⁹

'Coincidentally' at this time, Distell, a subsidiary company of Rupert's empire purchased the old Drostdy of Tulbagh from the NMC and set the building up as the Drostdy-Hof 'brand home' with a museum upstairs and wine tasting cellar for sampling downstairs.⁵²⁰ The NMC had apparently decided to sell the Drostdy as part of a rationalization programme of their properties and the 1994 expiry of the current lease agreement with the Tulbagh wine cooperative. The building was put to public tender with the stipulation that the new owners would execute substantial repairs as a matter of urgency to the satisfaction of NMC.⁵²¹



Fig.100. Tulbagh Drostdy Museum is now the 'home' of the Drostdy Hoff wine brand (from <http://cellardoorcollection.co.za/category/drostdy-hof/>).

⁵¹⁸ Giliomee and Mbenga, *New History*, 307.

⁵¹⁹ Yvonne Leibman, "The Actions of the State in the Production of Cultural Heritage – The Treatment of a Cultural Icon as Bearer of Values, Identity and Meaning at Groot Constantia in Cape Town" (M.Phil. diss., University of Cape Town, 2012).

⁵²⁰ Peter Whitlock interview, 2015.

⁵²¹ Cape Times, 30 October 1989. Cutting in UCT archive.

Appendix B

Synopsis of proponents

In order to better understand the approaches and philosophies of the proponents concerned, it is informative, prior to examining the Tulbagh restoration, to briefly provide s biographical synopses of their familial and cultural contexts. Who were these people and why were they regarded as well informed experts? These synopses aim to provide insight into their particular interest in conservation of Cape Dutch buildings. Only the proponents in bold will be detailed in this appendix.

Tulbagh Executive Works Committee⁵²²

Mr. Imker Hoogenhout	M.D of HHSA and Member SvdS Foundation
Mr. G. Froneman	Historical Houses of South Africa
Mr. Gawie Fagan	Architect, V.A.S, CPIA
Dr. Gwen Fagan	Historian, landscaper
Mr. Eric S. Vertue	NMC and secretary CPIA
Mr. N.C. Krone	Chairman Tulbagh Town Council and Owner Twee Jonge Gezellen
Mr. H. Fransen	Noted historian and Director of the Stellenbosch Museum

Cape Provincial Institute of Architects, (CPIA) including Fagan, Visser and Fox.

This organisation represents a professional association of Cape-based architects, which since the mid-1950s, has shown a determined inclination towards the conservation of historic architecture. It should be noted that at the time of the Tulbagh restoration, Revel Fox was the chairman of the CPIA and he was highly supportive of the restoration and the CPIA's part in it. Although Fox was very connected to the Afrikaner establishment, his motivation for being involved in Tulbagh seems likely based on his conservation concerns, rather than any concept of Afrikaner nationalism. This is supported by Fox's later membership of the ANC.

522 Ibid., 176. This full list of TRC members exists in Fagans book. The details about each proponent's position and the organisation(s) that they represented was determined from various other TRC documents found in the Fagans archive.

Historic Homes (Rupert, Froneman, Hoogenhout)

In the 1965, Afrikaner tycoon and philanthropist Dr. Anton Rupert, (Chairman of the Rembrandt Group) was initiating his first conservation projects which would lead to his establishing the conservation company Historic Homes of South Africa Limited, called Historic Homes (HHSa), an event which would literally change the face of many of the oldest towns at the Cape.⁵²³

HHSa was a subsidiary of Rupert's Rembrandt Group with 36 founder members including virtually all the mining houses, newspaper groups and banking institutions included. 'There has probably never been an enterprise in our country which has brought so many companies with such diverse interests together into a single organisation with a common goal and such a strong cultural foundation.'⁵²⁴ Rupert was a successful entrepreneur and businessman, proud Afrikaner and philanthropist. At the inauguration of the organisation, Rupert declared the importance of 'partnership between capital and culture to help preserve our legacy and to provide a climate that is conducive to the creation of cultural goods for generations to come'.⁵²⁵ 'Historical Homes was founded with the aim of purchasing, on a purely business basis, those buildings which form through historical or aesthetic considerations a link with the past and to restore and lease them in order to ensure that they are preserved for posterity'.

In our enormous material progress we have seriously neglected an important part of our cultural heritage, namely our historical buildings. Of the 3 000 Cape Dutch buildings from the 18th and early 19th centuries, fewer than 500 are left today. Five sixths have therefore been destroyed in little more than a half century.' It was further noted at the time that of the 500 surviving Cape Dutch buildings only 275 had retained their original character and only 100 of these houses were regarded as safe for the future.

Rupert's conservation initiatives were driven by his vision to restore his home town to its original 18th - century form, a project comparable to Williamsburg. His focus and that of his investors were predominantly interested in Dutch architectural heritage and the need to safeguard these assets for the benefit of the community and future generations.⁵²⁶

Historic Home's first significant project was the restoration of the Graaff-Reinet's old Dutch Reformed Mission Church (Oefeningshuis). The Church had been built in 1821 with four gables, making it the fifth-oldest Church building in the country. After restoration the building became the Hester Rupert Art

⁵²³ Dommissie, *Anton Rupert*, 453 – 466.

⁵²⁴ Historical Homes, Annual Report, 12.

⁵²⁵ Dommissie, *Anton Rupert*, 358.

⁵²⁶ Darke, "Afrikaner Nationalism," 121.

Museum, featuring a permanent collection donated by major artists of the day – ensuring it became a ‘living cultural asset’. The museum was inaugurated by State President C.R. Swart in 1966 and declared as a National Monument two years later.⁵²⁷

Dr Anthony Edward Rupert⁵²⁸

Rupert had a profound passion for conservation and vision for Cape Dutch architecture. His motivations were originally influenced by his strong Afrikaner identity and notions of Afrikaner national pride and nation-building.⁵²⁹

Rupert was born in Graaff-Reinet in 1916, where his father, John Rupert, was an accomplished attorney and through his involvement on politics established the very first branch of the National party in Graaff-Reinet.⁵³⁰

As a member of the Afrikaanse Student council, he participated in the 1938 Ox Wagon trekking centenary of the Groot Trek.⁵³¹ Rupert obtained his M.Sc. in chemistry in 1939 and was afterwards appointed as a lecturer at the University of Pretoria. As result of participating in the UP anti-war protests, Rupert met General Hertzog, which would have a profound influence on his future political and business views.⁵³² Rupert was a member of the Afrikaner



Broederbond, although he gave this up after the Nationalist 1948 victory. Together with Hertzog, he was co-founder of Industrial Investments (1943), Distillers Corporation (1945) and the Rembrandt Tobacco Corporation (1943).⁵³³

Fig.101. Anton Rupert
(http://www.winespectator.com/webfeature/show/id/Anton-Rupert-Who-Helped-Shape-South-Africas-Wine-Industry-Dies_2907).

Although weary of participating in politics, in 1950 Rupert made his first public appeal for co-existence at the National Economic Congress in Bloemfontein.⁵³⁴ Rupert was a supporter of Judge Henry Fagan’s philosophy of racial co-existence and for this reason he clashed with Verwoerd in 1959 - thereafter focusing on his overseas interests, which became very profitable.⁵³⁵ Rupert played an active role in public life from 1960, was outspoken regarding many political issues and clashed with the Nationalist government on numerous occasions and issues ranging from segregation, housing to foreign policy.

⁵²⁷ Minnaar, “Restoration of Graaff-Reinet”, 37-41. .

⁵²⁸ Darke, “Afrikaner Nationalism,” xii.

⁵²⁹ Dommissie, *Anton Rupert*, 19.

⁵³⁰ Ibid., 20-25.

⁵³¹ Ibid., 40-42.

⁵³² W.P. Esterhuyse, *Anton Rupert: Advocate of Hope* (Cape Town: Tafelberg, 1986): 14.

⁵³³ Darke, “Afrikaner Nationalism,” xii.

⁵³⁴ Dommissie, *Anton Rupert*, 152.

⁵³⁵ Ibid., 151-154.

Rupert subscribed to a definition of business as 'honourably serving the public as a profit'. This philosophy resulted in numerous institutions being established to provide a service to the community through the Rembrandt Group. Those linked to heritage are the Historical Homes of South African (1966) and SA Nature Foundation (1968). His concern for the neglect of SA's historical built environment is evident in his conservation achievements in Tulbagh, Stellenbosch, Graaff-Reinet and Paarl. Owing to his capitalist concerns, his conservation efforts were both viable and self sustaining, guided by the principle that 'there is no point rescuing an old building unless it could be put to sustainable use'. Rupert succeeded in proving that the restoration and recycling of heritage buildings was a profitable endeavour.⁵³⁶

'That is why I advocate a policy of partnership between capital and culture: to help preserve our legacy, but also to provide a climate that is conducive to the creation of cultural goods for generations to come. History proves that material progress does not necessarily have to be in conflict with the flourishing of culture. Every civilized country is proud of the tracks.'⁵³⁷

Rupert was first and foremost an Afrikaner, and this is reflected in his concerns for fellow Afrikaners and their success in industry, the preservation of Afrikaner culture, language and architecture. The Cape Dutch architecture reflected a manifestation of his cultural background, with particular reference to his home town Graaff-Reinet. He was however moderate in his political views and therefore while influential, was not part of the core political Afrikaner establishment – this is evident through his dealings with Verwoerd in the 1960s.⁵³⁸

Gerhard Froneman

Born in Nylstroom in the Transvaal in 1937, the Froneman family moved around a lot before the family settled in the Strand. Gerhard attended a boarding school in Villiersdorp and in 1956 finished school at Hottentots Holland High in Somerset West – he did not study further. Froneman's 'rich' grandparents were from the Eastern Cape where they had an old farm. They instilled in Froneman an interest in old things and a love of fixing up properties'. Froneman's parents were acquainted with Rupert who offered Froneman an administration job at Rembrandt. After staring up HHSA, Rupert then offered Froneman a job with that company. Froneman's wife



Fig.102. Gerhard Froneman
(from Burger, 8 October 1974).

⁵³⁶ Ibid., 358-361.

⁵³⁷ Dommissie, *Anton Rupert*, 358.

⁵³⁸ Darke, "Afrikaner Nationalism," 52.

Diana recalls that Rupert kept Froneman very busy in those days, to the point that she would not see him for weeks at a time.⁵³⁹ Although both Hoogenhout and Froneman were deeply committed and personally dedicated to the five-year restoration project, they were none the less still employed by HHSA to carry out the aims of the company and Rupert's philosophies.

Imker Hoogenhout

After its inauguration in 1965, Mr. Imker Hoogenhout was appointed by Rupert (Remgro) as the first managing director of Historical Homes. Mr Hoogenhout and his wife passed away many years ago and very little is known about him. They had no children except an adopted son who was killed in a motor accident.⁵⁴⁰ Hoogenhout retired in disgrace when he was accused by his niece of paedophilia, a crime from which he was in fact later convicted.⁵⁴¹ The Hoogenhouts of South Africa are all related to each other and are distinguished in history for their role in the Afrikaans Church and development of the Afrikaans language.

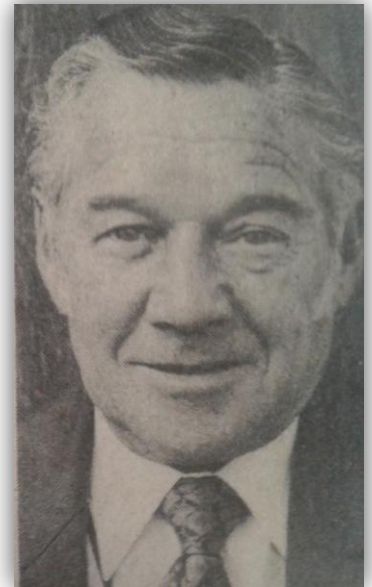


Fig.103. Imker Hoogenhout (from Die Burger, 8 October 1974).

Simon van der Stel Foundation (Punt, Conradie)

At an inaugural meeting under the auspices of the SA Akademie vir Wetenskap en Kuns held at Cape Town's historic Castle on the 8th April 1959, the Simon van der Stel Foundation was established.⁵⁴² This non-profit national organisation was directed Dr Willem Punt with the 'aim being chiefly to preserve for posterity our historic heritage in buildings by purchase and restoration, 'while at the same time to engender and stimulate pride and interest in our nations' architectural heritage.'^{543 544} The founding members in 1959 included its chairman Dr William Nicol (SA academy of science and art), the Mayor of Cape Town, the Governor general, H.F. Verwoerd (the Prime Minister), his wife Mrs Betty Verwoerd, Sir De Villiers Graaff, Dr Otto Du Plessis (administrator of the Cape Province), Dr P.J. du Toit (Chairman of the HMC), Prof H.R. Tom (Chairman FAK), Dr Graham Botha (Chairman of the SA National Society), Mr. D.H. Van Zyl (President of the SA arts association), the President of the Institute for Architects as well as Norman Eaton- who presented a

⁵³⁹ Diane Froneman, wife of late Gerhard Froneman. (Telephone call 12 October 2016.) Their only son, Henk Froneman, went missing a couple of years ago and was presumed deceased.

⁵⁴⁰ Telephone call with Carolyn Stone, retired MD of Historic Homes.

⁵⁴¹ Telephone call with Mr D M Hoogenhout, relative from Stellenbosch.

⁵⁴² Immelman, *Preservation and Restoration*, x - xi.

⁵⁴³ Ploeger, et al., *Conservation of Our Heritage- Part 1: Preservation of Old buildings and Historic Relics*. (Cape Town: Caltex, 1966), i.

⁵⁴⁴ Immelman, *Preservation and Restoration*, x - xi.

paper on Reinet House.⁵⁴⁵ This cultural organisation brought nation-wide and well-connected influence to bear on architectural conservation on individual monuments as well as street-scapes and squares. The Cape committee included noted historians and artists such as Eric Virtue, Mary Cook, Douglas Andrews, Gwen Mills, Ruth Prowse, Louis Hiemstra, Hannes van der Merwe and Col. Ignatius Tereblanche.⁵⁴⁶

From all over the republic, city councils, congregations, schools, woman's organisations, professional bodies and individuals became members. Regional committees of the Foundation have been established all over the country and each one in its own sphere of influence is actively engaged in furthering the preservation idea. In this way public interest has been awakened in the historic aspects of our physical environment and many irreplaceable examples of past architecture save from the demolisher's onslaught.⁵⁴⁷

The SvdS Foundation also published regular bi-annual bulletins thorough the 1960s, followed by the *Restorica* magazine from 1975 to 1994, which covered both national and regional heritage issues.⁵⁴⁸ In addition there were also various special publications, one of particular interest to this research is the 1968 bilingual book entitled '*Our Cape Gables*', with essays about the origins of Cape gables by Dr Willem Punt. The book's introduction by Meiring Naude (National Chairman of SvdS Foundation) reads:

The contents of this book will give you a deeper appreciation of our ancestors between 1600 and 1800 in various cultural fields, will fill you with greater national pride and make you more preservation conscious than before. The photos are proof that the Dutch/Flemish gabled architecture existed worldwide when Jan and Maria Van Riebeeck founded a colony at the Cape. Today we still find reflected in the relics of our Cape Dutch architecture, the high standards of civilization, skilled craftsmanship and good taste of our ancestors throughout the world...

From 1963 the State President was the patron in Chief of the SvdS Foundation.⁵⁴⁹ It should be noted that the composition of National Council was made up of ten members of whom four were known members of the Afrikaner Broederbond. These included both Dr S. Meiring Naude (member 2033) and Mr F.D. Conradie (member 4765) - both were also main Tulbagh restoration proponents and part of the

⁵⁴⁵ Document of Establishment of SvdS Foundation in UCT archives.

⁵⁴⁶ Malan, "Reflections".

⁵⁴⁷ Immelman, *Preservation and Restoration*, ix - x.

⁵⁴⁸ UPE Store <http://repository.up.ac.za/handle/2263/46322/recent-submissions?offset=0>

⁵⁴⁹ Simon van der Stel Foundation Bulletin 20 (October 1969) 2.

executive TRC.⁵⁵⁰ Of the patron members, Federale Mynbou Bpk (General Mining Inc), Federasie van Afrikaanse Kultuurvereniginge (FAK) and Volkskas Bank were known members of the Afrikaner Broederbond.⁵⁵¹ Donor members included the Afrikaanse Taal en Kulturbond, S.A. Polisie Kultuurvereniging, Scachat Holdings Ltd, Afrikaanse Pers, Afrikaanse Christelike Vrouevereeniging and the Afrikaanse Taal en Kultuur Vereniging (ATKV). The Patron-in-Chief of the SvdS Foundation, J.J. Fouché was one of the most prominent members of the Broederbond.^{552 553}

In 1982 the Van Der Stel Foundation organised the Potchefstroom Restoration Symposium and produced what is termed the 'Potch Charter'. This 'charter' ignored available international texts on the conservation debate, an action which highlights the intention of both the profession and the state to pursue a conservation stylistic methodology regardless of the international positions pertaining to architectural monuments and sites.^{554 555} The symposium is significant to this study as it was attended by most of the proponents of the Tulbagh restoration and thus suggests their conservation philosophies had not changed over the preceding 13 years, since the earthquake.

Punt was at the time the director of the Simon Van Der Stel Foundation as well as a member of the Historical Monuments Commission.

Dr Willem Punt

Born 1900 in Pretoria, qualified as a teacher in 1922, working as a school principle from 1935 to 1958. He furthered his studies with a BA in 1923, a MA in 1932 and eventually a PHD in Voortrekker history from U.S in 1952. It was during these studies that Punt developed a passion for the traditional homes of the early pioneers.⁵⁵⁶

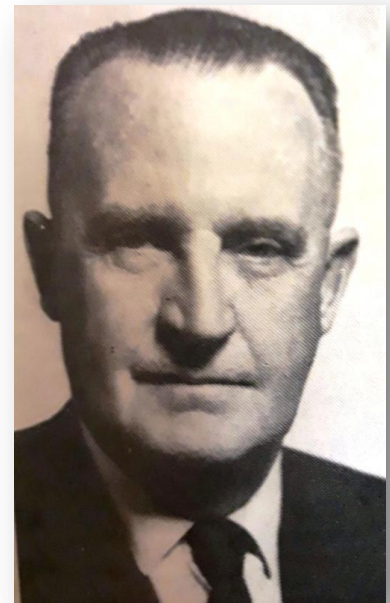


Fig.104. Dr Punt (from Simon Van Der Stel Foundation Bulletin, 1966).

⁵⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵⁵¹ Wilkins, Ivor and Hans Strydom, *The Super-Afrikaners: Inside the Afrikaner Broederbond*. Publishers, 2012): 49, 59, 65, 112 & 427.

⁵⁵² Ibid., 39.

⁵⁵³ Darke, "Afrikaner Nationalism," 53.

⁵⁵⁴ Darke, "Afrikaner Nationalism," 116.

⁵⁵⁵ It is worth noting that the very next page of the same *Restorica* magazine, featured a two page spread on UNESCO and all the charters as well as an interesting interpretation of the Venice charter which seemed edited so as not to conflict with the resolutions and definitions put forward by the Potchefstroom 'charter' on the previous page.

⁵⁵⁶ Simon Van der Stel Foundation Bulletin 20 (October 1969), 24.

He aimed at creating a growing admiration of heritage with the nation, improving awareness of restoration and conservation. In 1955 he became member of the Historic Monuments commission and in 1959 he initiated the Simon van der Stel Foundation.⁵⁵⁷

National Monuments Council (Scholtz, Malan, Vertue)

The National Monuments Act was adopted in 1969 thereby replacing the Historical Monuments Commission. The Act and the NMC ensured the state's role as curator of the national heritage and 'invocator' of various cultural symbols.⁵⁵⁸ Shepherd describes the Act as formalising a tradition that had been underway for some time; the switch to a predominantly architectural notion of heritage focused on the built environment.⁵⁵⁹ Right up until 1994 the conservation of South Africa's national heritage was officially in the care of the NMC, a body dominated by conservative Afrikaners (often members of the Broederbond), and given to meeting the apartheid government's political agenda.⁵⁶⁰ Their primary activity was the proclamation of national monuments, which could include important historical buildings as well as the holiday homes of politicians, historical holes in the ground and hyena traps. There is a clear indication that the proclamation of national monuments was used as a means of supporting racist ideology, usually by emphasising the merits of immigrant White culture and linking these to the supposed superiority of the White (master) race. Other tools used in this propaganda were postage stamps and a number of well-researched books published with the support of government funding.⁵⁶¹

The NMA focused primarily on the declaration and protection of national monuments and sites and provided the Minister and the National Monuments Council with overarching powers pertaining to these structures. The National Monuments Act of 1969 had established a national conservation infrastructure that enabled the Fagans to quickly appeal for access to National administration, for resources and political support.⁵⁶² The NMC was an official department of government and thus was mandated to primarily support the preservation and promotion of a white colonial history. In this way the organisation and its employees were employed by the Nationalist state to facilitate nation-building in a white-dominated South Africa. A cursory analysis of NMC proclamations between 1950 and 1990 show that, after the Tulbagh restoration in 1974, a far greater proportion of proclamations in the Cape were for cluster type nominations and for groups of less significant buildings versus individual monuments. The

⁵⁵⁷ Simon Van der Stel Foundation Bulletin 16 (October 1967), 5.

⁵⁵⁸ Witz, *Apartheid's Festival*, 11-13.

⁵⁵⁹ Shepherd and Robins, *Keywords*, 21.

⁵⁶⁰ Darke, "Afrikaner Nationalism," 166. Franco Frescura lists twelve members of the NMC as members of the Broederbond, a clear indication of the close links between government, Broederbond and NMC and the Afrikaner Elite who were all very much concerned with the preservation and promotion of Afrikaner language and culture.

⁵⁶¹ Frescura, "Culture in Transition".

⁵⁶² Fagan and Fagan, *Church Street*, 11.

NMC was intricately involved with the Boland earthquake from the start, even attending the emergency CIA meeting two days after the quake. As a government department, it can only be presumed that politics was involved from this point. Significantly to the Tulbagh case study, the 1969 National Monuments Act allowed the NMC to provisionally proclaim monuments for five years, without consulting the minister and without agreement from the owner'. The Act did not define the principles or provide any definitions pertaining to heritage and conservation- as with the current legislation (National Heritage Resources Act, no 25 of 1999).⁵⁶³

An analysis of the buildings and sites protected as 'National Monuments' during the next nearly 30 years from 1961 to 1989, approximately 2100 monuments were declared, of which only 3% were of natural or scientific interest, approximately 60% commemorated the VOC/Dutch period and/ or Afrikaner settler history, 25% reflected English settler and / or colonial history, 9% were colonial 'monuments' and only 2% commemorated indigenous history or culture.⁵⁶⁴

In the early 1990s, Frescura examined the relationship between the NMC and the ruling political ideology to provide links between the state and the conservation of cultural heritage. He reported that between 1969 and 1992, about 71 people have been nominated to the NMC Council. Of these 54 have been Afrikaans-speaking; only three have been women and two have originated from outside the white community. At least twelve of the elected persons over a period of 21 years were known members of the Afrikaner Broederbond. The members listed included F.D. Conradie, members of Parliament for Oranjezicht, Prof J.J. Oberholzer (who was a member of the HMC/NMC from 1951 to 1973/6, became NMC's first Executive Director in 1971; Dr W.A. Cruywagen (former Minister of Education) and H. Sloet (Director of FAK).⁵⁶⁵

English Capetonian, Eric Vertue was Chairman of the Cape Regional Committee of the NMC. He is remembered as a keen armature photographer and was chairman of the SA Photographic Club. In addition he was lover of literature and author of 'The Days That are Gone'.

Museums and Provincial administration (Fransen and Cook)

These foreign-born curators were passionate and recognised experts who, at the time, were both heads of their respective Stellenbosch and Swellendam museums and thus in the employ of the state. It is apparent that their employers were happy if not grateful that these two 'foreigners' were prepared to

⁵⁶³ Townsend, "Development Rights," 63.

⁵⁶⁴ Frescura, "National or Nationalist," 22

⁵⁶⁵ Ibid., 12.

contribute towards the Tulbagh restoration as they did. The committed involvement of these two proponents on the Tulbagh restoration is removed from any ideological association between Cape Dutch and Afrikaner nationalism. Their overriding motivation was their concern for fully researched and detailed restoration that was completed 'properly' and 'authentically'. In addition, Cook had by this time lived in Church Street for about 25 years and, as a Tulbagh local, had a strong personal motivation to ensure that her street was 'put right'

Dr Hans Fransen

Fransen was born in 1931 in Amsterdam.⁵⁶⁶ He commenced his studies in architecture which remained incomplete when he moved to South Africa in 1955. He completed a BA (History of Art, UNISA, 1968) and a PhD (University of Natal). The title of thesis was 'Style periods in Cape architecture and decoration'. His career included:

1955-58	Survey Assistant, Dept. of Water Affairs, Pretoria
1959-61	Press and Cultural Affairs Assistant, French Embassy
1959-61	Editorial assistant and proof reader, Die Burger
1962-64	Acting Curator, Michaelis Collection (museum)
1965-69	Curator Stellenbosch Museum
1970-74	Curator, Groot Constantia
1975-80	Assistant Director, S.A. National Gallery
1980-89	Senior Lecturer History of Art, University of Natal
1990-2001	Director Michaelis Collection
2001-2016	Active as author, heritage practitioner

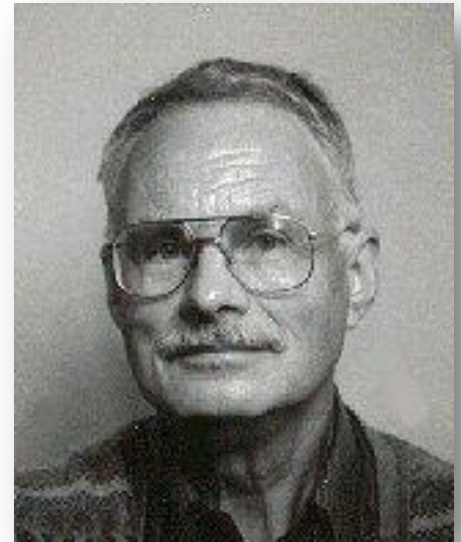


Fig.105. Hans Fransen (from artifact.co.za).

Fransen married Marie Anneen van Zyl in 1963 and would go on to run six Comrades Marathons as well as 13 Argus Cycle Tours.

Fransen was a member of several professional organisations including, S.A. Association of Art, SvdS Foundation, Vernacular Architecture Society, S.A. Society of Cultural Historians, S.A. Museums Association. He also received the following awards, Simon van der Stel Foundation Medal of Honour

⁵⁶⁶ Artifact.co.za - <http://www.stellenboschwriters.com/fransenh.html>.

(1984), Cape Times Award for Conservation (1993), Knighthood in the Order of Orange-Nassau (2003-Netherlands), DPhil, honoris causa, from Stellenbosch University (2008). In addition to his regular contributions to academic journals and chapters in books, Fransen published fifteen of his own books on architectural history.

Dr Mary Cook⁵⁶⁷

Physician, cultural historian, author was born on 4 August 1902 in Yorkshire. Mary studied Medicine at Leeds University, graduating in 1925. Together with her husband, Anglican minister Alexander Cook, she moved to South Africa, where they settled in Transvaal in 1926. During the family vacations in the Western Cape, Mary was fascinated by Cape architecture, and she studied the topic thoroughly, taking also notes in the archives. She started campaigning for the preservation of Cape architecture and, from 1947, she wrote regularly on the subject in journals and newspapers. The family moved to the Strand and later to Kalk Bay, Cape Province. After the early death of her husband in 1957, she devoted her energies to the preservation of antiques. In 1958 she accepted a post as historical researcher at the SA Museum in Cape Town, which put her in charge of the cultural history section. The Koopmans de Wet House became subsequently the South African cultural History Museum. In 1965, Mary Cook accepted the position of curator of the Swellendam Drostdy Museum, which she remained until her retirement in 1974. In 1966 she moved to Tulbagh, where she had bought, in 1945, the beautiful old house Ballotina in Church Street. Her attempt to restore this house remained incomplete by the time of the earthquake. Mary Cook died on 2 August 1981. Awards and Honours: Medal of the Historical Monuments Commission 1949, Honorary Award of the Drie Eeue Foundation 1959, Special award for cultural achievements, SA Academy for Science and Art 1969, Doctor honours, University of Stellenbosch 1971, Freedom of the town Swellendam 1971. Books - The Old Houses of the Cape (1965, 1981) and The Cape Kitchen, 1973.



Fig.106. Mary Cook from (<http://www.stellenboschwriters.com/cookm.html>).

Politicians: B.J. Vorster (1915 - 1983), and the political administrators

Vorster had been interned during WWII as an active supporter of the Ossewa Brandwag, which had supported Hitler. Vorster, like his predecessor Verwoerd, was a white supremacist and advocate of apartheid. In addition to retaining draconian security measures, he extended apartheid by removing all

⁵⁶⁷ Mary Cook, <http://www.artefacts.co.za/main/Buildings/archframes.php?archid=5650>.

vestiges of coloured representation. Vorster applauded attacks on communists and liberals, referring to them as subversive elements undermining the social order.⁵⁶⁸

Gwen Fagan says that the First Lady, Tienie Vorster, had a deep appreciation for Heritage and would have 'been a good influence on Vorster'. She had produced an inventory of Groote Schuur and the Fagans met with her there once to discuss possible work. It is unlikely however that Mrs Vorster had directly influenced Vorster decision to become head patron as he had made this decision on the spot and would not have had time to thus consult with her.⁵⁶⁹

Hoogenhout had a personal relationship with Prime Minister Vorster and maintained from the start that a national committee (headed by Vorster seemingly so they could cut through bureaucratic red tape) was required to achieve their goals. It appears that Fagan and Hoogenhout had already discussed this possibility only nine days after the earthquake with Vorster approached a week later at his holiday house, where he agreed immediately to his head patron role. Based on the contents of his many earlier speeches that focused on bridging English and Afrikaner peoples and cultures, it is apparent that Vorster would have recognised the nation-building potential of the Tulbagh project and its advantages to the National Party with its 'white-centred, nation-building' identity: English and Afrikaner cohesion being demonstrated in Church Street by strong Cape Dutch references and a scattering of pretty Victorian houses in between. The vast scope of the Tulbagh, Stellenbosch, Graaff-Reinet and Paarl restoration efforts and the nation-wide, almost mono-cultural white makeup of its proponents, funders and supporters had political nation-building implications and connotations which, intentionally or unintentionally, benefited the Nationalist (apartheid) regime of the day.

Sir Meiring and Lady Beck

Johannes Hendricus Meiring Beck was born in 1856 in Worcester to an influential family. After matriculating, he went to Edinburgh to study medicine, thereafter practicing as a surgeon in Berlin and Vienna. Returning to South Africa he first worked as a physician in Kimberly, later becoming the district surgeon in his home town Worcester. In 1885 Beck married Mary Kuys, of Stellenbosch (whom he had been courting for three years), and moved to Cape Town's southern suburbs where he set up a practice, publishing regular medical papers

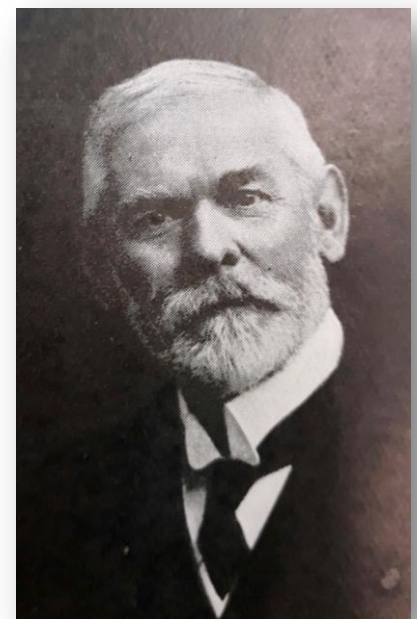


Fig.107. Meiring Beck (photo from *Prominent men of the Cape Colony*, 45).

⁵⁶⁸ Giliomee and Mbenga, *New History*, 349 - 350.

⁵⁶⁹ Fagan Interview September 2016.

which culminated in a thesis and Beck receiving an MD from Edinburgh University in 1890. In 1895 Beck bought Rustenburg in Ronderbosch as his family home entered politics in 1898. Beck was elected to represent Worcester's 'Afrikanerbond' in the Cape Legislative Assembly. As a politician he was an ardent yet moderate opponent on British imperialism. In 1908 the Cape Prime Minister, John X. Merriman, nominated Beck to represent the Cape in the first Union Parliament in 1910, he was knighted in 1911 and in 1916 became minister of Posts and Telecommunications in General Louis Botha's cabinet.

In 1903 Beck bought the farm, De Oude Drostdy, Tulbagh, as his family residence which he thoroughly restored. Beck championed and ensured the preservation of Tulbagh's Oudekerk and after his death, Lady Beck crusaded to save the historic structure and have it declared a museum. Beck who was also an amateur musician, (playing several instruments and publishing several musical works) died in Cape Town in 1919. From their marriage, there were three daughters, of whom one, Frieda H. Beck, married Ernst Harold Nellmapius and continued to live at the Tulbagh Drostdy, for some time after the death of Lord and Lady Beck. It was during this time that the devastating fire raised the Drostdy building, destroying all joinery and the entire contents of the house.^{570 571 572 573}

N.C. Krone (Senior)

Krone was from a liberal Afrikaner family and the fifteenth-generation of Krone to farm on the family estate of Twee Jonge Gezellen in Tulbagh. At the time of the earthquake N.C. was also employed as the head of the Tulbagh Divisional Council. Due to this association with the town, N.C. had a significant personal and emotional stake in the restoration. On a number of occasions he displayed his civic pride in his role in the restoration. His own farmhouse had been damaged in the quake and he had received R3000 to help him with a 'proper' restoration.

Andries Du Toit

Du Toit was the Mayor of Tulbagh and sat on the TRC. Du Toit was from a conservative Afrikaner family that had been farming in the valley since the 1800s. At the time of the earthquake he owned the historic La Rhone farm, which he soon after demolished to construct a modern house in its place. Mr A.J. Du Toit was the chairman of KWV and member of the TRC and is listed in the Super Afrikaners as a 1973

⁵⁷⁰ Scully, *Meiring Beck*, 43.

⁵⁷¹ South African Who's Who 1919 – 1920, 12.

⁵⁷² *The Prominent Men of the Cape Colony*, (Portland, Maine: The Lakeside Press), 1902, 45.

⁵⁷³ Kock (Ed), *Dictionary of South African Biography Vol II*, (Cape Town: Tafelberg Publishers), 1972.

member of the Broederbond: 'member of the executive council of the planning and agriculture committees.'

Gabriël Theron (Gawie Fagan) b1925

Gawie Fagan was born in 1925 into a prominent Afrikaner family, the second child of Judge Henry Allan Fagan (1889 - 1963) and Jessie (Queenie) Fagan (née Theron) – both from Tulbagh. The judge was an accomplished advocate and writer and had a successful legal career first as a practicing advocate and then as a law professor at Stellenbosch University. He was appointed a judge in the Cape in 1943 and ultimately became Chief Justice of the Union in 1957.⁵⁷⁴ The judge had successfully dabbled with politics from 1933 when he was elected the National Party member for Swellendam; however he swapped his alliance in 1937 along with Hertzog and successfully stood for the United Party in Stellenbosch. Thereafter becoming the Minister of Native Affairs, Education and Welfare in General Hertzog's coalition government pre-WWII.⁵⁷⁵

In 1948 after the Natives Representation Council demanded the removal of all discriminatory laws, two commissions were set up to look into the 'native issue'. On one side the Fagan Commission recommended stabilising the black urban population, the Sauer Committee (established by the National Party) recommended turning apartheid into a comprehensive racial policy. At the subsequent 1948 election, D.F. Malan's National Party won a whites-only general election, understood as an endorsement of the Sauer recommendations.

Gawie Fagan grew up in Newlands, Cape Town and attended the Simon van der Stel Primary School in Wynberg, matriculating from Jan van Riebeeck High School in 1942. Fagan studied engineering part time at the UCT from 1943 – 1946; however decided to pursue architecture and enrolled at the University of Pretoria in 1947. The department of architecture has been established in 1943 under the leadership of Prof Adriaan Meiring. Fagan completed his studies in 1951 and immediately joined Volkscas as one of their in house architects. He travelled to various sites, particularly in the Karoo, as Volkscas had recently expanded its business into many small towns. This resulted in Fagan's interest and research into vernacular architecture which he photographed extensively between 1959 and 1964 and forms the basis for his book 'Brakdak: Flat roofs in the Karoo' (2008) Awards. Fagan has received numerous prizes from various architectural and heritage organisations, most recently in 2015 receiving a life time achievement award from Provincial Administration.

⁵⁷⁴ Fagan and Fagan, *Church Street*, 49.

⁵⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 111.

Dr, Gwendolene Fagan (Born in 1924)

Gwen qualified as a medical doctor at UCT in 1948 and left private practice to join her husband Gawie in his architectural practice as a historical researcher and landscape planner. Gwen obtained a PhD from UCT in 1995: *'An introduction to the man made landscapes at the Cape from 17th to 19th centuries'*. Gwen has received a number of awards, namely the Cape Tercentenary Award for historical research and landscape restoration (1987) and a gold Medal from the Simon van der Stel Foundation (1992).

Fagan came from a highly influential elite liberal Afrikaner family and so had connections. Significantly, by 1969 Fagan was established as an architect in Cape Town, with a reputation for VOC-era buildings and had a relationship with the CPIA and the SvdS Foundation - although he does not recall having met with Hoogenhout before 1969.⁵⁷⁶ Fagan had already received two important state conservation contracts and was clearly regarded as a well-informed expert by the conservation fraternity. Owing to his standing in architectural circles, he was appointed by CIA to investigate after the earthquake, where after he quickly developed his 'vision' for the restoration and produced his first press release and plea for a national body. Consequently he was officially and independently appointed, first by the CPIA and then soon thereafter by the NMC, TRC, SvdS Foundation and Historic Homes as their architect, as well as the NMC and Vernacular Association's representative for the overall Tulbagh restoration.

Although Fagan felt very deeply for the Tulbagh restoration, (exemplified by him falsely invoking the president's name to force the hand of the NMC and managing to talk the BDC into a substantial TRC grant), this was nonetheless a professional appointment and not a charity case. This is backed up by the architects and engineers fee, earning around 10% of the restoration cost - standard in the industry.

Fagan's immediate actions and concerns after the earthquake display a real confidence; there seems to be no doubt in his mind as to 'what should we do?'. It is apparent that Fagan's restoration philosophy was to, as closely as possible, accurately reconstruct the past. This is exemplified by his insistence that even the plaster from fallen old buildings should be left undisturbed so as to infer that clues as to the proper reconstruction of the original building would not be lost and furthermore his dissatisfaction with only having the gable profiles in the photos, needing more evidence and visiting the farms of relatives of the original builders to get the detail 'right'. Although there is always going to be a level of conjecture, at least it is 'highly informed conjecture'.⁵⁷⁷

⁵⁷⁶ Gwen Fagan email, 27 October 2016.

⁵⁷⁷ This approach was very much in line with the philosophies at the time, although different to the design-by-analogy approach of Visser, which is more of an immersion in conservation, less researched and more design-by-instinct; to look at a building and instinctively know what to do.

Appendix C – Individual Property Tables

Fagans initial inspection after the earthquake and tables of subsequent intervention

On the 8th October 1969 Fagan made an estimation of the extent of the earthquake damage to Church Street.⁵⁷⁸ This information has been summarised below and detailed in the individual property tables.

The majority of the houses are on the upper side of the road, fronting onto it and looking down across the river. They tend to follow a pattern suggesting converted and enlarged Cape Dutch house plans. Most have stoeps on the road side and these are roofed over in typical 19th and 20th -century fashion; man fronts boast Victorian French doors, windows and shutters. Almost all the houses have corrugated iron roofs, in general suggesting a mid 19th -century replacement of the earlier thatch, resulting, like Paarl, in raised loft walls with ornamental cast iron ventilators or even small windows.

Thatch survives on the Pastorie, Ou Kerk, the nearby library and two houses in the row. Aside from the pitched roofs of the main parts of the houses; there are numerous lean to, flattish corrugated iron roofs on many back rooms, sheds and outbuildings.

All roofs are still standing, with the exception of #38 and one or two of the stoep roofs (where a gable or chimney has fallen through). Roofs appear undamaged obvious ridge sagging only noticeable on house #22 and #34.

Apart from the De Wet House (#36), the general architectural trimmings, windows etc, are Victorian, particularly the fronts. There are typical four and six panel doors and sliding sash windows in most of the houses. A few houses are in the third stage of replacement, steel windows now replacing sliding sash.

⁵⁷⁸ Document entitled 'Cursory Inspection Tulbagh -Onderstraat 8/10/1969' in Fagans archive.

Fagan's estimation of the extent of earthquake damage

Class I Minor cracks and plaster off.

Eleven buildings including pastorie and Chapel.

Class II Moderate damage

Similar to Class I, but appears more severe, much plaster off, cracks have vibrated loose enough to see through or into. Walls vertical and stable nonetheless. Seven buildings including the library

Class III Substantial damage

Old plasterwork has spalled, particularly internally. Some outer walls have parted free and possibly settled. Looks more severe than Class II but remedial treatment may be identical.

Class IV Severe damage

Similar to Class III which added severity of a gale down or threatening to fall, bulging gables or end walls. Needs remedying soon - leaking. (Four buildings)

Class V Catastrophic

Roof off, walls part down.

Based on numerous sources as well as the details in Fagan's book, I have analysed the 30 buildings which were part of the intervention in Church Street and Tulbagh Village. On a property-by-property basis I have categorized the intervention, based on the respective degree of conservation, restoration or reconstruction/demolition in each building

Fagan's levels of conservation intervention

Level 0: Existent pre-1900 buildings, restored by owner without Fagan

Level 1: Conserved/Restored/Repaired

- Repair & Renovation: Houses existed largely in original form
- Some reproduction joinery required
- Some minor removals of minor additions or lean-to structures or verandas

Level 2: Transformed with reconstruction on original fabric and some demolitions

- Repair & Remodelling: De-Victorianisation and Re-Cape 'Dutchification'
- Complete reconstruction of roof structure (gables, thatch roof)
- Installation of new fenestration and much new joinery
- Demolition of less substantial later additions & lean-to structures

Level 3: Transformed with substantial reconstruction on original fabric and much demolition

- Complete remodelling:
- Large-scale demolitions of substantial later Victorian & 20th -century additions
Full reconstruction of entire roof structure including all gables (front and sides)
- New fenestration and joinery made and installed in original positions

Level 4: Completely rebuilt or demolished



Star Conserved before earthquake by Meiring Becks/ Mary Cook



Fig.108. Extent of Fagan's Conservation Intervention (Map by author).

An examination of the literature suggests that that Fagan was primarily interested in the restoration of the Cape Dutch style. However, within this Cape Dutch precinct stand four late Victorian houses in contrast to their thatched and gabled neighbours. It is also significant that House 23 (one of the few on the West side of the street) was originally built as a gabled thatch house, but succumbed to Victorianisation in the 1880's, yet was left in its high Victorian form by the Fagans as it was deemed to be a successful 'modernization' with architectural merit in its altered form.⁵⁷⁹ The continued existence of these five Victorianised properties in an otherwise Cape Dutch precinct, suggests that Fagan was not as dogmatic in his approach in reinstating the 'pre-industrial' appearance as his critics have suggested.



Fig.109. House 28, 'Toll House' stripped of all plaster (as well as Victorian and modern additions) and ready for its transformation with its gable template is in position. Classified here as a 'red - level III transformed building, the 'naked' façade clearly displays little old fabric.

⁵⁷⁹ TRC minutes.

LEVELS OF FAGAN'S INTERVENTIONS IN CHURCH STREET

Complete

NOTES & SUMMATION

Page number in Fagan book

1) Minimum intervention and conservation -repair and renovation: houses existed largely in original form

[illegible]

2) Medium interventions of restoration repair & remodelling - 'de-Victorianisation and re-Cape Dutchification'



[illegible]


3) Major intervention of reconstruction - much reconstruction and remodelling

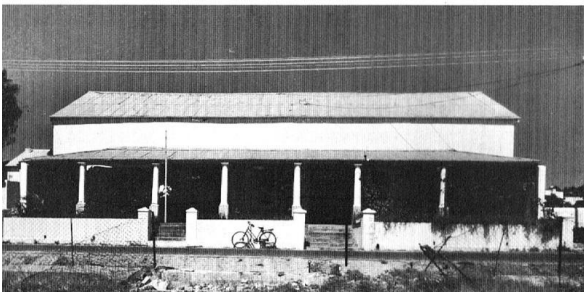

26	17	Honey Oaks	1850s	Late Cape Dutch	70										Huge effort to reinstate Cape Dutch style	87
27	23	Paddagang	1810s	Cape Dutch	50										New back wings have no old material	104
28	24	Tulbagh Country House	1810s	Cape Dutch	60										Huge effort to reinstate Cape Dutch style	109
20	26	Christo Coetzee Gallery	1800s	Cape Dutch	65										Substantial effort required	118
21	28	Toll Keepers House	1810s	Cape Dutch	55										Substantial effort required	124
29	42	Old Parsonage	1790s	Cape Dutch	50										Huge effort to reinstate Cape Dutch style	160

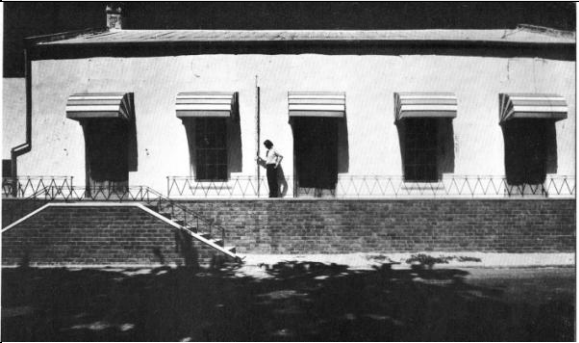

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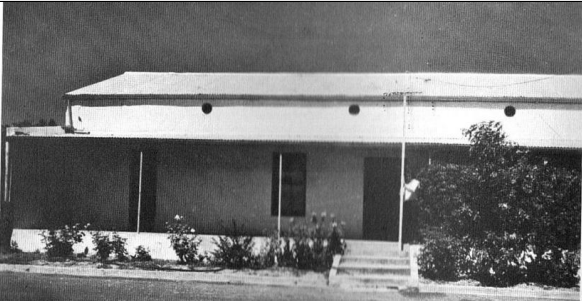

30	38	Tuisnywerheid	1972	Cape Dutch	5												New on existing foundation & stoep	152
31	8	N/A	1900	N/A	0												Victorian House demolished	72


CATEGORY OF INTERVENTION	1 Church Street	ERF 120	
Level 1 Conservation & repair ★ Preserved and conserved before earthquake by Meiring Becks			
Name of Building	Date built	Original materials	
OUDE KERKMUSEUM	1743 enlarged 1794	95%	
Architectural period constructed	Architectural style	Type of building	
VOC	Cape Dutch	Cruciform Church	
General evaluation of Significance	NMC status	NHRA grading	
Very significant - Oldest Church building in SA	Previous National Monument (1954)	Declared Grade II (2016)	
Before Photo 1900	Description	History	
	Large cruciform, purpose built Church with a large broad baroque gable and thatch roof. Ornamented gable of pineapples, roses and garland mouldings. The central urn and the fan shaped with plastered date '1743'. Church surrounded by a significant graveyard with graceful ring wall and bell tower at its gates. Central pulpit dates from about 1800	Early settlers built a church in 1743 and enlarged it in 1795 and 1807. After a new Church was built on another site in 1878, this building became a school and was extensively damaged by an English regiment during the Anglo Boer War. In 1922, the building was ceded to a control board to be preserved as a museum which opened in 1925	
After Photo - Current	Fransen's Evaluation	Fagan's Alternations	
	<i>'This historic monument, built in 1743 (gable 1796), at the beginning of Church Street was seriously not damaged.'</i>	Virtually unaltered over the centuries. Building re-plastered in 1972, with strengthening steel mesh, tension rods and steel bands. Original gable kept intact. Renovations of existing windows, replacement of missing panels. Rebuilding of original inner portal gates and reinstating of decorative plaster urns.	
Other information			
Cape Provincial Administration paid for the Fagan restoration			
Fagans initial estimation of earthquake damage: Class III Severe damage			
Significance in terms of the NHRA			
	Very significant	Significant	Some significance
Historical	✓		
Rarity	✓		
Aesthetical	✓		
Technological	✓		
Cultural	✓		
Slave	✓		



CATEGORY OF INTERVENTION		4 Church Street	ERF 141
Level 1: Conserved/Restored/Repaired			
Name of Building		Date built	Original materials
Earthquake Museum & Tourism Office		1900	90%
Architectural period constructed		Architectural style	Type of building
Victorian/Edwardian		Victorian	Residential
General evaluation of Significance		NMC status	NHRA grading
Significant as museum		Previous National Monument (1973)	Grade 3A (2016)
Before Photo 1969		Description	History
		<p>Single story brick house with double span roof over two rows of rooms. Small back extension with covered veranda. Large out building serves as store rooms and a small library and Original Victorian doors and sash windows feature throughout. Featuring a long front and side as well as back covered veranda.</p>	<p>Built as a house, late in 1899 on one of the last open erven in the street.</p> <p>House changed hands many times and was eventually bought by the Tulbagh Restoration Committee after the earthquake.</p>
After Photo - Current		Fransen's Evaluation	Fagan's Alternations
		<p>'Late-Victorian from around 1900 and appears in its original form and apart from the stoep kamers can be retained TRC will also receive insurance money., after having agreed to the demolition of their modern face brick offices further down the street.'</p>	<p>After the earthquake, the 20th century enclosed veranda was removed and replaced with a simple Victorian iron veranda with dainty iron supports. Two inside walls were demolished to make a larger room.</p>
Other information			
Fagans initial estimation of earthquake damage: Class I Minor cracks			
Bought by TRC for R10'000, restored at their cost of R10'000,			
Donated to Tulbagh's municipality to serve as its offices to compensate them for giving up their other offices			
Significance in terms of the NHRA			
	Very significant	Significant	Some significance
Historical			✓
Rarity			✓
Aesthetical		✓	
Technological			✓
Cultural	✓		



CATEGORY OF INTERVENTION	6 Church Street	ERF 142 & 143	
Level 2: Transformed with reconstruction and some demolitions			
Name of Building	Date built	Original materials	
De Oude Herberg Guest House	1855	80%	
Architectural period constructed	Architectural style	Type of building	
Early Victorian	Cape Dutch	Residential	
General evaluation of Significance	NMC status	NHRA grading	
Significant to streetscape	Previous National Monument (1973)	Grade III B (2016)	
Before Photo 1969	Description	History	
	High thatched roof, two rooms deep on plan, pointed gabled, sliding sash windows and a double front door. Large back extension for restaurant, kitchen and bathrooms.	This property was built late in the history of the town, only being finished in about 1855. Although Victoria was already on the throne, the fashion of the Gabled and thatched Cape house remained and new houses continues to be built in this style in the Boland up to 1880Built in 1860; it shows on the 1861 photo as one of seven identical houses in the street. House changed hands many times and was 'modernised' in 1890 when it lost its gable and thatch roof.	
After Photo - Current	Fransen's 1970 Evaluation	Fagan's Alternations	
	'Originally appears as a thatched house with front gable. "It is recommended to recreate this form, although the modern additions will have to remain as the owner does not want to sell.'	Gable and thatch roof reconstructed after the earthquake. 20 th Century veranda was also demolished and stoep reinstated with plastered front and stone paving. All Victorian original doors and windows retained and Victorian floor plan left unchanged	
Other information			
Fagans initial estimation of earthquake damage: Class I Minor cracks			
House restored for owner at expense of TRC to the value of R12'000			
Die Oude Herberg is one of the oldest guesthouses in the country and was already a boarding house in 1885.			
Significance in terms of the NHRA			
	Very significant	Significant	Some significance
Historical			✓
Rarity		✓	
Aesthetical		✓	
Technological			✓
Cultural	✓		



CATEGORY OF INTERVENTION	10 Church Street	ERF 146, 144, 145	
Level 1: Conserved/Restored/Repaired			
Name of Building	Date built	Original materials	
Epi-stay Guest House	1899	90	
Architectural period constructed	Architectural style	Type of building	
Late Victorian era	Cape Victorian	Residential	
General evaluation of Significance	NMC status	NHRA grading	
Little intrinsic significant, significant to streetscape	Previous National Monument (1973)	Grade III B (2016)	
Before Photo 1969	Description	History	
	Single story brick built house with double span roof over two rows of rooms. High pitched corrugated iron roof, veranda, stoep, sliding sash windows and garden wall. Back extensions, plus small shed/shop in courtyard	Built on land purchased from the church in 1880, the house was built in 1883. The house changed hands many times over the years to various Tulbagh families	
After Photo - Current	Fransen's 1970 Evaluation	Fagan's Alternations	
	<i>'The Victorian house can be retained in its current form, perhaps with the addition of a decorative veranda.'</i> <i>'The owner has already made repairs and is prepared to have the TRC fund approved restorations.'</i>	Few changes to the actual house and very little restoration was required. Modern face brick veranda was plastered and wooden balustrade, striped iron veranda and slender iron supports reinstated. Loft windows remade and reinstated.	
Other information			
Fagans initial estimation of earthquake damage: Class I Minor cracks			
TRC paid R7000 towards restorations			
Significance in terms of the NHRA			
	Very significant	Significant	Some significance
Historical			✓
Rarity			✓
Aesthetical			✓
Technological			
Cultural	✓		
Slave			

CATEGORY OF INTERVENTION	12 Church Street	ERF 149	
Level 2: Transformed with reconstruction and some demolitions			
Name of Building	Date built	Original materials	
Reader's Restaurant	+/- 1760	65%	
Architectural period constructed	Architectural style	Type of building	
VOC	Cape Dutch	Residential	
General evaluation of Significance	NMC status	NHRA grading	
Significant	Previous National Monument (1973)	Grade III A (2016)	
Before Photo 1969	Description	History	
	Simple cape long house, with simple pointed gable, standing obliquely to Church Street. Newer back rooms in Victorian style. Stable/wine cellar behind building with steep thatched, single pitch roof	Erf granted by Governor Rijk Tulbagh in 1754 to surgeon Nicolaas Fuchs. Thus the oldest building of the original pioneer settlement and the first house in the street, built in 1743 on an old Ox-Cart track. The house changed hands many times before being sold to the renovation committee. Readers now operates as a successful restaurant.	
After Photo - Current	Fransen's 1970 Evaluation	Fagan's Alternations	
	1970 – 'Old house, now Victorianised, is recommended by architect to recreate its appearance in the old photograph.'	The restoration committee rebuilt the gable, reinstated a thatched roof, and repositioned existing doors and windows according to the 1861 photo and on site evidence. Some new joinery was made and others purchased for the house. The entire building was renovated and replastered in 2011.	
Other information			
Fagans initial estimation of earthquake damage: Class II Moderate damage			
Building became the first school in the valley and remained so until 1857. The school master or 'reader' stayed on site and provided comfort to the community in the form of religious and other social education. This thus became a church school, conducted by the sick comforter and reader in a little school room behind his house			
TRC purchased house for R4000 restored it for R 14 170 (received insurance money) and sold it for R10'000			
Significance in terms of the NHRA			
	Very significant	Significant	Some significance
Historical		✓	
Rarity		✓	
Aesthetical		✓	
Technological		✓	
Cultural	✓		
Slave		✓	

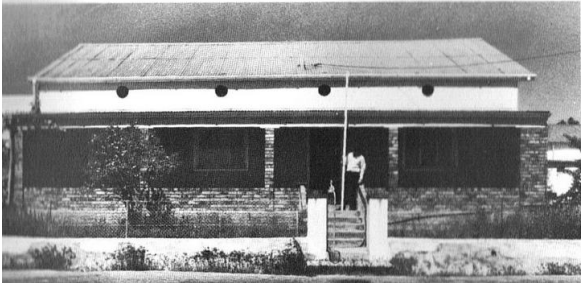

CATEGORY OF INTERVENTION	3 CHURCH STREET	ERF 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 118, 119, 773	
Excluded: Open Garden Erven			
Name of Building	Date built	Original materials	
Old Outspan (Sports Field & grandstand)	1973	NA	
Architectural period constructed	Architectural style	Type of plot	
Sports Field & Modern grandstand		School sports fields	
General evaluation of Significance	NMC status	NHRA grading	
Rare open out span, significant to rural atmosphere	Previous National Monument (1970s)		
Before Photo 1969	Description	History	
	Eight large erven consolidated into the sports fields of Tulbagh high school. Bordered by Church street in the East and the Klip river in the West with the Old Church immediately to the South.	Original out span of Church. In 1851, the state granted the Church the land around the Church and parsonage and the last plots along Church street. Some of these erven were sold off as both building erven and garden erven. In the 20 th century the Church gave the then unused erven to Tulbagh High School in order to establish sports fields. Tennis courts and a grandstand were built in the 1960's	
After Photo - Current	Fransen's Evaluation	Fagan's Alternations	
			
Other information			
Modern Grandstand & tennis courts built well away from Church Street in the 1960's. Club house extended in 2013			
Original Kitchen gardens where the pioneers, their servants and slaves would grow much of their food and spend much of their day in the 18 th & 19 th century.			
For sixty years these have been Tulbagh's only sports fields and the facilities are regularly used as a meeting point for all the towns' communities.			
Significance in terms of the NHRA			
	Very significant	Significant	Some significance
Historical		✓	
Rarity		✓	
Aesthetical		✓	
Technological		✓	
Cultural	✓		
Slave			✓



CATEGORY OF INTERVENTION	14 Church Street	ERF 154	
Level 1: Conserved/Restored/Repaired			
Name of Building	Date built	Original materials	
Victorian Museum	+/- 1892	90%	
Architectural period constructed	Architectural style	Type of building	
Late Victorian	Cape Victorian	Residential	
General evaluation of Significance	NMC status	NHRA grading	
Significant as museum and to streetscape	Previous National Monument (1973)	Grade II (2016)	
Before Photo 1969	Description	History	
	Typically Victorian with high galvanized iron roof, timber outside steps leading to a large loft, a striped veranda with wooden balustrade, ornamental plaster work and a floor plan two rooms deep complete with narrow entrance hall. Walls built of mud brick and plaster. Single garage built around same time.	Erf bought in 1883 and the house built around 1892. The house changed hands many times and at one stage Restoration committee bought house after earthquake, after which it was given to the Tulbagh Museums Board of Trustees as a fourth Church Street museum	
After Photo - Current	Fransen's 1970 Evaluation	Fagan's Alternations	
	'Victorian house can be kept as it is, although demolition was recommended.'	House was mostly unaltered except for the veranda that had been enclosed in the 20 th Century. After the earthquake, small rooms under lean too roof were demolished and previous appearance of veranda were reinstated according to existing Pierneef water colour of the house in 1925. Rotted pine flooring was also replaced	
Other information			
Fagans initial estimation of earthquake damage: Class II Moderate damage			
Johannes Jacobs Smith, the first Afrikaans professor lived here as a boy, as to did Henry Allan Fagan, who grew up to become the Chief Justice of SA			
House donated to museum board of trustees an annex and is now called the Victorian House Museum.			
House was bought by TRC for R5'500 and restored by them for R8'200 and sold for R10'000			
Significance in terms of the NHRA			
	Very significant	Significant	Some significance
Historical			✓
Rarity			✓
Aesthetical		✓	
Technological			✓
Cultural	✓		
Slave			



CATEGORY OF INTERVENTION	16 Church Street	ERF 672	
Level 2: Transformed with reconstruction and some demolitions			
Name of Building	Date built	Original materials	
The Wagon shed	+/- 1850	65%	
Architectural period constructed	Architectural style	Type of building	
Early Victorian era	Cape long house	Residential	
General evaluation of Significance	NMC status	NHRA grading	
Significant to streetscape	Previous National Monument (1973)	Grade III A (2016)	
Before Photo 1969	Description	History	
	A traditional Cape longhouse with thatched roof and stone front veranda. Front door opens into large room with Kitchen on right. Long passage divides three bedrooms. Modern bathroom and toilet.	Possibly built as a stable and wagon house for the sick comforter in 1780 and 1816. Fell into dilapidation by 1844 and was converted into a house before 1860. Having two front doors, the cottage might have housed two families. The property changed hands many times and was restored by the restoration committee in the 1970s.	
After Photo - Current	Fransen's 1970 Evaluation	Fagan's Alternations	
	'Mid 19 th century, Victorianised Cape longhouse ought to get its thatch roof and old woodwork returned.'	During restoration, modern lean-to roof were demolished & end gables rebuilt and thatch roof reconstructed. Doors and windows were remade and moved into their original positions according to original lintels and entire building re-plastered. Garage enlarged in 2012 without heritage approval.	
Other information			
Fagans initial estimation of earthquake damage: Class III Significant damage			
Has Victorian veranda with turned post and fretted fascia, a good example and only one in the row.			
TRC paid for restoration for owner to the value of R13 000.			
Significance in terms of the NHRA			
	Very significant	Significant	Some significance
Historical			✓
Rarity		✓	
Aesthetical		✓	
Technological			
Cultural	✓		



CATEGORY OF INTERVENTION	17 Church Street	ERF 109 & 110	
Level 3: Transformed with substantial reconstruction & substantial demolition			
Name of Building	Date built	Original materials	
Honey Oaks	+/- 1852	70	
Architectural period constructed	Architectural style	Type of building	
Early Victorian	Cape Dutch – condensed H	Residential	
General evaluation of Significance	NMC status	NHRA grading	
Significant to streetscape and story of the vernacular	Previous National Monument (1973)	Grade III A (2016)	
Before Photo 1969	Description	History	
	Small, traditional Cape Dutch style building. High thatched roof spanning a double row of rooms, a pointed front gable, sliding sash windows with a Victorian teak double door with attractive fanlight. Pool built in 2006	Built from 1852, the house changed hands over the years and was extensively changed and modernised. Bought by the restoration committee and all subsequent additions were demolished.	
After Photo - Current	Fransen's 1970 Evaluation	Fagan's Alternations	
	<i>'Originally a high thatch roof and gable from 1850, only the right half of the house is from before 1861, and it's recommended to demolish the other half. The first restoration plan included casement windows and stable front door, however this had to be changed when it was discovered that the existent front door & some windows were original to the building.'</i> ⁵⁸⁰	Victorian and many later additions and lean-to extensions were demolished by the restoration committee to leave original core building. Gable and pitched thatched roof and re-instated to 1861 photo. . External fireplace and chimney rebuilt. Original windows and front door in situ.	
Other information			
Fagans initial estimation of earthquake damage: Class I Minor cracks			
Bought by the TRC for R10 000, restoration cost R12'800, sold for R12'500. Insurance payout went to previous owner. ⁵⁸¹			
Significance in terms of the NHRA			
	Very significant	Significant	Some significance
Historical			✓
Rarity		✓	
Aesthetical		✓	
Technological		✓	
Cultural	✓		



580 TRC minutes 16th June 1972
581 HF71



CATEGORY OF INTERVENTION	18 Church Street	ERF 156	
Level 1: Conserved/Restored/Repaired			
Name of Building	Date built	Original materials	
NA	+/- 1880's	90%	
Architectural period constructed	Architectural style	Type of building	
Mid-Victorian era	Cape Victorian	Residential	
General evaluation of Significance	NMC status	NHRA grading	
Significant to streetscape and story of the vernacular	Previous National Monument (1973)	Grade III A (2016)	
Before Photo 1969	Description	History	
	Three rooms deep divided by long narrow passage way. Victorian joinery with covered iron veranda featuring ornate cast iron	Although the erf was bought in 1852, it remains unclear when the Victorian house was built. The building style would suggest the 1880's and thus it is a good example of mid Victorian design	
After Photo - Current	Fransen's 1970 Evaluation	Fagan's Alternations	
	<i>'Late Victorian building. Owner does not want to sell nor allow the house to be restored. "Die huis is nou n steurende element" This house has now become an irritation element in the greater picture.'</i>	Largely intact building. The restoration committee reinstated sash windows to replace the steel replacements. A teak Victorian double door replaced the modern front door; the face brick stoep was plastered and brick stoep pillars replaced with cast iron.	
Other information			
Fagans initial estimation of earthquake damage: Class I Minor cracks			
Restored for owner by TRC to the value of R1'800			
Significance in terms of the NHRA			
	Very significant	Significant	Some significance
Historical			✓
Rarity			✓
Aesthetical			✓
Technological			
Cultural	✓		



CATEGORY OF INTERVENTION	20 Church Street	ERF 654	
Level 1: Conserved/Restored/Repaired			
Name of Building	Date built	Original materials	
The Stables	+/- 1860's	65%	
Architectural period constructed	Architectural style	Type of building	
Mid-Victorian	Cape vernacular	Agricultural (main house demolished)	
General evaluation of Significance	NMC status	NHRA grading	
Significant to streetscape	(Coach House) Previous National Monument (1973)	Grade III B (2016)	
Before Photo 1969	Description	History	
	<p>Small rectangular barn like structure with steep pitched roof. Front carriage doors. Front garden and courtyard</p> <p>Brass bust of Danie Thron on site, bust stolen in 2003, but has been recovered in 2013.</p>	Erf lay undeveloped for 50 years until BG Niehaus built a fine gabled thatch house and stable in 1864. The house was demolished before the earthquake and the stables bought by the restoration committee.	
After Photo - Current	Fransen's 1970 Evaluation	Fagan's Alternations	
	<i>'The current house which stands is ugly and modern and will have to be demolished as it is located in the hart of the restoration project. '</i>	<p>After earthquake this original roof structure was reinstated. Large swinging garage doors were also installed per physical evidence.</p> <p>Unit concerted into self catering accommodation with addition of loft, windows and doors off side courtyard</p>	
Other information			
Fagans initial estimation of earthquake damage: Class I Minor cracks			
Bought by TRC for R3000, house demolished and wagon shed restored for R2'000			
The building is remembered as an antiques shop in the 1980s, but was converted into a dwelling in 2009 and is now a self catering cottage.			
Significance in terms of the NHRA			
	Very significant	Significant	Some significance
Historical		✓	
Rarity		✓	
Aesthetical		✓	
Cultural	✓		



CATEGORY OF INTERVENTION	21 Church Street	ERF 107 House, 108 Vineyard	
Level 1: Conserved/Restored/Repaired			
Name of Building	Date built	Original materials	
Danie Tron Huis	1853	95%	
Architectural period constructed	Architectural style	Type of building	
Early Victorian era	Cape Dutch – condensed H	Residential	
General evaluation of Significance	NMC status	NHRA grading	
Significant to streetscape and story of the vernacular	Previous National Monument (1973)	Grade III A (2016)	
Before Photo 1969	Description	History	
	Cape Dutch house with thatch roof and simple pointed gable. Four front and Four back rooms, built on the popular double depth plan.	Erf bought in 1852 and house built the following year. Changed hands many times and at one stage the famous Boer scout Danie Thron lived in the house as a child. The house was bought by the restoration committee and eventually KWV, to be a residence for the manager of Paddagang restaurant.	
After Photo - Current	Fransen's 1970 Evaluation	Fagan's Alternations	
	'Thatched and gabled house in near original condition.'	Largely intact house with original gables. There were only minor alteration over time. The restoration committee replastered the building and removed a later veranda. Steel windows and the front door were replaced with replicas to match photographic records.	
Other information			
Fagans initial estimation of earthquake damage: Class III Significant damage			
Thatched, front gable half off and stoep below damaged, but overall damage not sever enough for Class IV			
Purchased by the TRC for R5'500, restored by them at a cost of R17'600, sold for R16'000			
Significance in terms of the NHRA			
	Very significant	Significant	Some significance
Historical		✓	
Rarity		✓	
Aesthetical		✓	
Technological			✓
Cultural	✓		

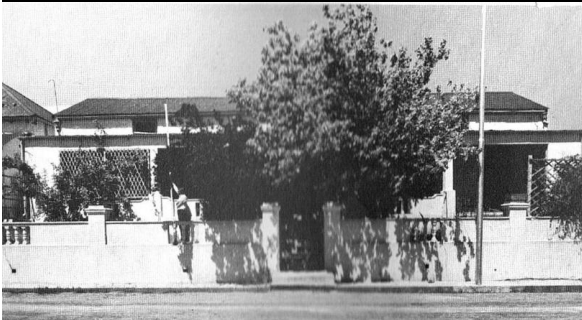

CATEGORY OF INTERVENTION	22 Church Street	ERF 166 House 167 Garden	
Level 1: Conserved/Restored/Repaired			
Name of Building	Date built	Original materials	
Pioneer House Museum (Museum Annex)	1803	85%	
Architectural period constructed	Architectural style	Type of building	
Early Cape/British occupation	Cape Dutch - T shape	Residential /Museum	
General evaluation of Significance	NMC status	NHRA grading	
Significant to streetscape and story of the vernacular	Previous National Monument (1971)	Grade III A (2016)	
Before Photo 1969	Description	History	
	This small T-shaped house Cape Dutch house has an original gable and pitched thatch roof. There are 5 rooms, with the original kitchen and flagstone floor and a back room opening up onto a courtyard with a small out building. Good example of its kind.	Longhouse built in 1803 and extended into a T shaped house by 1811. The gable and yellowwood ceilings were added in 1822. Sash windows were added in the 1880's. The house was sold to the Van Der Stel organisation after the earthquake, restored and then donated to the Tulbagh Museums trustees	
After Photo - Current	Fransen's 1970 Evaluation	Fagan's Alternations	
	'Exists in its original thatched and gabled form. '	Largely intact with few alterations having taken place over the centuries. Roof, gable and internal structure, were largely intact although top of gable repaired after earthquake. An early chimney was rebuilt and oven reinstated. Wooden floors and casement windows were replicated and installed. Interior walls of outbuilding removed and new flagstone floor laid.	
Other information			
Fagans initial estimation of earthquake damage: Class III Significant damage . Thatched, single panel and plank doors, simple muurkas, bakoond iron door. Front gable half off, end gables shaky and should be recorded as last possible models for the street			
Bought by Simon van der Stel Foundation and at their cost restored under the guidance of Fagan.			
Later, S vd Stel donated the building to the museum's Board of Trustees as an annex, now called the Pioneer House Museum			
Significance in terms of the NHRA			
	Very significant	Significant	Some significance
Historical		✓	
Rarity		✓	
Aesthetical		✓	
Technological		✓	
Cultural	✓		
Slave			✓
Social		✓	


CATEGORY OF INTERVENTION	35 Van Der Stel Street	ERF 164	
Level 1: Conserved/Restored/Repaired			
★ Conserved before earthquake by Lady Meiring Becks			
Name of Building	Date built	Original materials	
Oude Bakkarij (Old Bakery)	+/-1805	90%	
Architectural period constructed	Architectural style	Type of building	
Early Cape/British occupation	Cape Dutch – T shape	Residential	
General evaluation of Significance	NMC status	NHRA grading	
Significant as museum	Previously declared 1955	Grade III A (2016)	
Before Photo 1969	Description	History	
	T-Shaped Cape Dutch house with thatch roof and original ornate gable. Front stoep, casement windows, Dutch stable doors and small back garden. Modern bathroom lean-to behind	House built by C.W. Broodryk in 1805. The property changed hands many times until 1853 when the baker Frans Nicolaas van Wyk bought the property and operated a bakery there until 1891. In the 1930's after threats of demolition, the building was bought by local government, restored and made a national monument.	
After Photo - Current	Fransen's 1970 Evaluation	Fagan's Alternations	
	'T-Shape house which has retained its thatch roof and (earthquake damaged) gables'	In the 1930, the house was restored with reinstating of period windows, doors and twisted chimney. After earthquake Roof and gable carefully repaired. Period casement windows and doors fitted to match photographic record. Internal walls rebuilt in original positions and modern toilet lean-to added.	
Other information			
Fagans initial estimation of earthquake damage: Class II Moderate damage			
Front gable half off and chimney teetering otherwise appears fairly sound from the outside.			
Bought by the Simon van Der Stel Foundation and restored at their cost			
Between 1930 and 1969, this building was Tulbagh's only library. This was one of Tulbagh's four pre earthquake National monuments.			
Significance in terms of the NHRA			
	Very significant	Significant	Some significance
Historical		✓	
Rarity		✓	
Aesthetical	✓		
Technological		✓	
Cultural	✓		
Slave			✓
Social			✓


CATEGORY OF INTERVENTION	23 Church Street	ERF: 691 Building & garden 85, 86, 103, 104	
Level 3: Transformed with substantial reconstruction & substantial demolition			
Name of Building	Date built	Original materials	
Paddagang Restaurant and wine tasting centre	1810	50%	
Architectural period constructed	Architectural style	Type of building	
Early Cape/British occupation	Cape Dutch – H shape	Possible Slave Lodge & Stables	
General evaluation of Significance	NMC status	NHRA grading	
Significant to streetscape and story of the vernacular	Previous National Monument (1973)	Grade III B (2016)	
Before Photo 1969	Description	History	
	Large thatched roof Cape Dutch building with bull nosed gable. Original long house at its core, with modern extensions built in traditional style. Thatched. Casement windows and shutters, stable doors	Paddagang was built in stages from 1810 either as a slave house or wagon shed. It was in the form of a simple long house with bull nosed gable. This iconic restaurant with its unique name (frogs' way), is one of the oldest restaurants in South Africa, having been a 'Taphuis' back in 1888 already... Before the damming of the river, the property would regularly flood.	
After Photo - Current	Fransen's 1970 Evaluation	Fagan's Alternations	
	'Appeared in 1861 as a small picturesque thatched house. The current owner wants to restore the house with TRC help and the insurance money available.'	After the earthquake, many internal walls and later rooms removed or demolished to recreate original ground plan of 1861 photo. Casement windows and doors remade and installed to match photographic records. Iron roof and covered veranda removed. Building re-thatched and re-plastered and simple bull nose gable reinstated. Extended into an H shape in the 1970s.	
Other information			
Bought by KWV in 1970 who contributed the bulk of the R11 000 restoration cost.			
There exist many stories about the drinking and cavorting of slaves and Hottentots at the Taphuis. The Church petitioned for the closing of this Taphuis on numerous occasions and it was proving to be an unacceptable distraction to the lower classes and kept them out of church.			
Paddagang restaurant has a 40 year reputation and is known throughout SA and internationally for its 'boere-kos			
Significance in terms of the NHRA			
	Very significant	Significant	Some significance
Historical			✓
Rarity		✓	
Aesthetical		✓	
Technological			✓
Cultural	✓		
Slave	✓		



CATEGORY OF INTERVENTION	24 Church Street	ERF 169	
Level 3: Transformed with substantial reconstruction & substantial demolition			
Name of Building	Date built	Original materials	
Tulbagh County Guest House	1815	80%	
Architectural period constructed	Architectural style	Type of building	
Early Cape/British occupation	Cape Dutch- H-shape	Residential	
General evaluation of Significance	NMC status	NHRA grading	
Significant to streetscape and story of the vernacular	Previous National Monument (1973)	Grade III B (2016)	
Before Photo 1969	Description	History	
	Large "H" Shaped Cape Dutch house with thatch roof and neo-classical gable. Original yellowwood ceilings throughout with most original internal doors. Large slate front stoep and back cobbled courtyard. Casement windows and shutters.	Tulbagh Country Manor is one of the grandest houses in Church street and the only one built on the H-plan. Construction started in 1809 and a T shaped house was finished by 1815. Fifty years later, the cottage on the right was added and the main house extended into an H.	
After Photo - Current	Fransen's 1970 valuation	Fagan's Alternations	
	'Victorianised H shape house from 1820, gables long demolished. "Recreation of the old form is well possible" (A year later it was reported that ,“this house already makes a good showing with its H-plan, thatch roof, new casement windows and gable.”' (This initially was built incorrectly, but has now been put right).	Substantial Victorian and later additions were demolished to restore original H-shape. Interior and yellow wood ceilings are largely intact. Gable's and pitched thatch roof was reinstated to match similar house in the area. Many original internal doors were repositioned; all exterior casement windows & shutters were remade. New double coach house built on side	
Other information			
Fagans initial estimation of earthquake damage: Class IV Substantial damage			
Owned by Boland bank. Restoration cost R37'100.			
Previous home of authors mother 2001-2007, owned by author since 2008 and is the flagship of the authors business, the Cape Dutch Quarters Hotel			
Significance in terms of the NHRA			
	Very significant	Significant	Some significance
Historical			✓
Rarity		✓	
Aesthetical	✓		
Technological		✓	
Cultural	✓		
Slave			✓



CATEGORY OF INTERVENTION	25 Church Street	ERF 690	
Level 1: Conserved/Restored/Repaired			
Name of Building	Date built	Original materials	
The Victorian – Cape Dutch Quarters	1814	95%	
Architectural period constructed	Architectural style	Type of building	
Early Cape/British occupation	Victorianised Cape Dutch house- condensed H	Residential	
General evaluation of Significance	NMC status	NHRA grading	
Significant to streetscape and story of the vernacular	Previous National Monument (1973)	Grade III A (2016)	
Before Photo 1969	Description	History	
	<p><i>'Appears as a beautiful Cape Victorian house, built with a double row of rooms. Yellowwood ceilings and inner doors, Victorian sash windows and French doors. Ornate plaster moldings on façade and cast iron covered veranda.'</i></p> <p><i>This is a good example of successful layering of historic fashions and building tastes.'</i></p>	Built as a gabled Cape house in 1814 with high thatch roof and central pointed gable, the house set the new fashion for the next 40 years. After changing hands many times, the house was tastefully updated around 1874. After the earthquake it was decided to leave the house as it was as the Victorian renovation had been so tastefully completed as a good example of 19 th century re-modeling.	
After Photo - Current	Fransen's 1970 Evaluation	Fagan's Alternations	
	<p><i>'Appearing in the 1861 as a thatched gabled house, the building was Victorianised in 1880. Fagan intends to retain the house as it is the best example of this style in the Street.'</i></p>	Built in 1814 and "Victorianised" in 1874, current house original to that period. The floor plan had hardly changed over the two hundred years, only the façade was substantially changed. The sliding sash windows and French doors were probably built in a same time that the gable was demolished and iron roof & veranda added.	
Other information			
Fagans initial estimation of earthquake damage: Class II Moderate damage			
Has well preserved and complete cast iron Victorian veranda. Internally several single panel doors, beamed and planked ceiling. Condensed H shape.			
Purchased by the TRC for R4000, restored by TRC at a cost of R13'445, sold forR12'500			
House largely intact, only minor renovations made after earthquake			
Significance in terms of the NHRA			
	Very significant	Significant	Some significance
Historical		✓	
Rarity		✓	
Aesthetical		✓	
Technological	✓		
Cultural	✓		
Slave			✓



CATEGORY OF INTERVENTION	26 Church Street	ERF 170	
Level 2: Transformed with reconstruction and some demolitions			
Name of Building	Date built	Original materials	
Christo Coetzee House Museum	+/-1796-1804	65%	
Architectural period constructed	Architectural style	Type of building	
Early Cape (VOC)	Cape Dutch	Residential	
General evaluation of Significance	NMC status	NHRA grading	
Significant to streetscape and story of the vernacular	Previous National Monument (1973)	Grade III B (2016)	
Before Photo 1969	Description	History	
	This T-shaped Cape Dutch house has a modern neo-classical gable and thatch roof with casement windows and shutters and stable doors. Back door opens onto terraced courtyard and the back of the old mission school.	The house operated as a parsonage for the Rhenish mission school for many years where all children (white, Hottentots and slave) were taught. The house and five others in the area burnt down in 1848. The house and mission school have been restored and opened in 2011 as the Christo Coetzee House Museum	
After Photo - Current	Fransen's 1970 Evaluation	Fagan's Alternations	
	'Victorianised T-shape house from 1796... "Full restoration will have no difficulties.'	T shape was reinstated with the removal of later additions and the building of a gable and putting back the thatched roof. Replica windows were remade and installed and the front stoep repaired. Modern back bathroom added in lean-to fashion	
Other information			
Fagans initial estimation of earthquake damage: Class IV Substantial damage Most Dutch traces: obvious T shape, beamed and planked ceiling, casement windows in back part of house, single panel doors,			
Bought by Historic Homes for R2.600, restoration cost R25.600, sold for R16'000			
In 1813, the house was sold to the Roodezandt Mission Society to house Arie Voss, their Missionary who taught Hottentots and slaves in the ways of Christianity. They traveled extensively to outlying districts educate and convert, when the emancipation of slaves seemed imminent in 1834. Many slaves were baptized here.			
Significance in terms of the NHRA			
	Very significant	Significant	Some significance
Historical	✓		
Rarity		✓	
Aesthetical		✓	
Technological			✓
Cultural	✓		
Slave	✓		
Social	✓		



CATEGORY OF INTERVENTION	31 Van der Stel Street	ERF 170	
Excluded: Existent pre-1900 buildings, excluded from restoration			
Name of Building	Date built	Original materials	
Christo Coetzee Gallery (Slave/Mission School)	1813	50%	
Architectural period constructed	Architectural style	Type of building	
Early Cape/ British occupation	Early Cape, transitional	Religious (Mission School) Church	
General evaluation of Significance	NMC status	NHRA grading	
Significant to streetscape and story of the vernacular	Previous National Monument (1973) with #28	Grade III A (2016)	
Before Photo 1969	Description	History	
	L-Shaped Cape Dutch building at the back of ERF 170 – Mission house. School built from 1790 as a gableless long house facing Van der Stel Street. Incorporating a carriage house and modern garage	In 1813, the house was sold to the Roodezand Mission Society to house their Missionary. At this time they also built the Old Mission School on a vacant erf behind the main house. It was here that missionaries would instruct the indigenous Hottentots and slaves in the ways of Christianity. The freed congregation soon grew beyond the capacity of this building and thus the Mission Church was built across the road.	
After Photo - Current	Fransen's Evaluation	1970 Recent Alternations	
	N/A	Although the superstructure remained intact for 200 years, due to neglect both end gables needed to be completely rebuilt when the property was conserved in 2008. Imposing front door was restored to its original position. New sash windows and interior yellow wood shutters were remade to original lintels.	
Other information			
In 1813, the house was sold to the Roodezand Mission Society to house their Missionary. The missionaries would instruct the indigenous Hottentots and slaves in the ways of Christianity. They travelled extensively to outlying districts educate and convert, when the emancipation of slaves seemed imminent in 1834. Many slaves were baptized here, owing in part to a new law forbidding the sale of baptized slaves.			
Significance in terms of the NHRA			
	Very significant	Significant	Some significance
Historical		✓	
Rarity		✓	
Aesthetical		✓	
Technological			✓
Cultural	✓		
Slave	✓		
Social	✓		



CATEGORY OF INTERVENTION	34 Van Der Stel Street	ERF 230	
Level 1: Conserved/Restored/Repaired			
Name of Building	Date built	Original materials	
Old Slave Church or Zahn Mission Church	1845	95%	
Architectural period constructed	Architectural style	Type of building	
Early Victorian era	Cape Gothic Revival	Church	
General evaluation of Significance	NMC status	NHRA grading	
Significant to streetscape and story of the vernacular	Previous National Monument (1971)	Grade II (2016)	
Before Photo 1969	Description	History	
Early Cape/British occupation	Large specious thatch roof Hall Church in the Cape Gothic style, features buttresses and pinnacles.	Built for the newly emancipated slaves. Plot donated to the Rhenish Missionary Society in 1844. Mission Church was built across the road from the mission school in 1845. Building fulfilled the needs of the mass of recently emancipated slaves of the area. Built with donated funds and the labour of freed converted slaves.	
After Photo - Current	Fransen's 1970 Evaluation	Fagan's Alternations	
	<i>'Simple but valuable neo-gothic Church is of great value to the streetscape and must be declared a National Monument.'</i>	The mission church was only slightly damaged in the earthquake and was bought by Tulbagh Municipality to be restored for use as a town hall. The modern corrugated iron roof was removed and a thatch one reinstated on the original roof timbers which were still in good condition. During a subsequent renovation, the roof timbers were stolen and modern pine replacements now exist.	
Other information			
Bought by TRC for R3'000, restoration cost not specified, sold for R3'000			
Many slaves were baptized here, owing in part to a new law forbidding the sale of baptized slaves. Building stands to remind us of the inspiring work of Rev. Zahn and his parishioners who built this church for a mere 300 pounds			
Significance in terms of the NHRA			
	Very significant	Significant	Some significance
Historical		✓	
Rarity		✓	
Aesthetical		✓	
Technological			✓
Cultural	✓		
Slave	✓		
Social	✓		


CATEGORY OF INTERVENTION	27 Church Street	ERF: 101- House & 81 - Garden	
Level 1: Conserved/Restored/Repaired			
Name of Building	Date built	Original materials	
The Pink House	1900	95%	
Architectural period constructed	Architectural style	Type of building	
Late Victorian/Edwardian ear	Edwardian	Agricultural conversion to residential	
General evaluation of Significance	NMC status	NHRA grading	
Significant to streetscape	Previous National Monument (1971)	Grade III B (2016)	
Before Photo 1969	Description	History	
	Typical agricultural conversion to house in 20 th century. Simple brick and plaster building with pitched tin roof and row of air vents above windows	Built after 1900 as a stable to house 24, the building was converted into a house in 1938 and changed hands many times. Minor changes made by the earthquake committee.	
After Photo - Current	Fransen's 1970 Evaluation	Fagan's Alternations	
	'An un-interesting late house which the architect plans to give Victorian windows. The committee was considering demolishing the house as the land on this side of the street, which were originally all gardens.'	Barn/Stable was converted in to house in 1938 with lean-to Northern addition. Restoration committee demolished later addition and replaced steel windows with sash windows and shutters and added flagstone paving. Inside toilet moved to end of house.	
Other information			
Fagans initial estimation of earthquake damage: Class I Minor cracks			
Bought by the committee for R4.500, restored for R5.500, sold for R7'600			
Significance in terms of the NHRA			
	Very significant	Significant	Some significance
Historical			✓
Rarity			✓
Aesthetical			✓
Technological			✓
Cultural	✓		
Slave			✓



CATEGORY OF INTERVENTION	28 Church Street	ERF: 173	
Level 3: Transformed with substantial reconstruction & substantial demolition			
Name of Building	Date built	Original materials	
Toll Keepers House	1809	55%	
Architectural period constructed	Architectural style	Type of building	
Early Cape (VOC)	Cape Dutch – L shape	Residential	
General evaluation of Significance	NMC status	NHRA grading	
Significant to streetscape and story of the vernacular	Previous National Monument (1973)	Grade III A (2016)	
Before Photo 1969	Description	History	
	Cape Dutch long house with extensions behind the house. Simple pointed gable, pitched thatch roof and casement windows and shutters. Traditional slate front stoep, back garden and out house	In 1809 as the residence of the overseer of the roads and more specifically the receiver of the toll of Roodezand Pass. House burnt down in 1848 and rebuilt with changes. Further "Victorianisation" occurred in the early 20 th century	
After Photo - Current	Fransen's 1970 Evaluation	Fagan's Alternations	
	'Victorianised, once thatched and gabled house from 1818.'	After the earthquake, substantial conservation and reconstruction were necessary to return it to its 1861 ground plan and appearance. Many internal changes made as well as a yellowwood & pine ceiling and casement windows remade and reinstated to match records and gable rebuilt to 1861 photo where the house shows clearing.	
Other information			
Fagans initial estimation of earthquake damage: Class II Moderate damage			
Bought by Historic Homes for R2'700, restored by them for R25'000, sold for R16'000			
Significance in terms of the NHRA			
	Very significant	Significant	Some significance
Historical			✓
Rarity		✓	
Aesthetical		✓	
Technological			✓
Cultural	✓		
Slave			✓
Social			✓



CATEGORY OF INTERVENTION	29 Church Street	ERF: 100 and others	
Level 4 Total demolition			
Name of Erven	Date established	Original materials	
Church Street Garden Collective (Peace Park)	2013 (Park)		
Architectural period constructed	Architectural style	Type of building	
Landlocked plots with one modern garage	NA	Demolished stores	
General evaluation of Significance	NMC status	NHRA grading	
Significant as open garden to rural character of street	Previous National Monument (1980)	N/A	
Pre- earthquake view	Description	History	
	Small undeveloped garden erf with Church Street frontage. 20 x 25 m². Existing illegally built small garage store structure built against Church street after 1995	Up until 1851, these plots were classified as river bed and owned by the state. It was then granted to the Church and subdivided and parts sold. After the earthquake the largest of these plots were donated to the National Monuments council for preservation thereof as it is an important part of the historic street scene if Church Street. Ownership transferred to SAHRA with dissolution of Monuments Council.	
Current park / garden	Fransen's 1970 Evaluation	Fagan's Alternations	
			
		Demolition of municipal workshops	
Other information			
The undeveloped gardens plots paint a picture of a rural pioneer life. Ervin in Church street are an integral part of the historic street scape which traditionally included open agricultural plots. The pioneers, their servants and slaves would spend much of their working day toiling in these fields to produce food for the household			
Significance in terms of the NHRA			
	Very significant	Significant	Some significance
Historical		✓	
Rarity		✓	
Aesthetical		✓	
Technological			
Cultural	✓		
Slave		✓	
Social		✓	



CATEGORY OF INTERVENTION	51 Van der Stel Street	ERF: 174 House & Outbuildings 97& 99, Garden	
Level 1: Conserved/Restored/Repaired			
Name of Building	Date built	Original materials	
Winterhoek House (Marais House)	1800	80%	
Architectural period constructed	Architectural style	Type of building	
Early Cape /British occupation	Cape Dutch – U shape	Residential	
General evaluation of Significance	NMC status	NHRA grading	
Significant history, high authenticity	Previous National Monument (1973)	Grade III A (2016)	
Before Photo 1969	Description	History	
	Completed in about 1800 is an example of a U plan house that has its back to Church Street. It is now used as an annex to Tulbagh Hotel. This house should be declared as a collection with its outbuildings and undeveloped plots of historic kitchen garden	House has long history and many interesting occupants and owners. At the time of the earthquake, it was doctors' consulting rooms. The restoration committee bought the building	
After Photo - Current	Fransen's 1970 Evaluation	Fagan's Alternations	
	<i>'Modernised and enlarged U-shape house with existent gable dated 1813. The back, which faces Church Steet, will need to be reconstructed as per the 1861 photo.'</i> <i>"The outbuildings of the Marais House in VD Stel Street originally appear with a 'wolf-nose' gable and should be restored."</i>	Front gable is original, with the restoration committee reinstating roof and back gables and installing replica casement windows and doors. Original u- shape reinstated by demolition of later rooms. Modern kitchen and bathroom fitted. Some internal doors remade. Outbuilding was only re-roofed	
Other information			
TRC bought the property for R4'000, paid R25'000 for the restoration, sold it for R15'000.			
The influential minister Vos lived in this house from 1818, where he was largely responsible for changing the law that prohibited the sale of baptized slaves and went on to establish the first SA mission school. (C. Van Wijk)			
Significance in terms of the NHRA			
	Very significant	Significant	Some significance
Historical			✓
Rarity			✓
Aesthetical		✓	
Technological			✓
Cultural	✓		
Social			✓
Slave		✓	



CATEGORY OF INTERVENTION	30 Church Street	ERF 76	
Level 3: Transformed with substantial reconstruction & substantial demolition			
Name of Building	Date built	Original materials	
Pineapple House	1790s	55%	
Architectural period constructed	Architectural style	Type of building	
Early Cape (VOC/British occupation)	Cape Dutch – T shape	Residential	
General evaluation of Significance	NMC status	NHRA grading	
Significant to streetscape and story of the vernacular	Previous National Monument (1973)	Grade III A (2016)	
Before Photo 1969	Description	History	
	Little Cape Dutch house built on T-plan before 1807. Pitched thatch roof with a fantastic Baroque Hol-Bal gable, casement windows and yellowwood joinery. Traditional slate front stoep and courtyards on both sides of the building.	This T shaped house was built in the 1790s with Hol-Bol gable and is arguably the most beautiful gable in the Street. The house changed hands many times and was bought by the restoration committee in 1971.	
After Photo - Current	Fransen's 1970 Evaluation	Fagan's Alternations	
	'The once thatched and "hol-bol" gabled T-form house appears now with many additions and Victorian on the outside. The property is in very bad condition and although demolition was recommended.'	After the earthquake, all Victorian and later additions were demolished to restore T-shape. The thatch roof and Hol-Bol gable reconstructed to 1861 photo and new casement windows made as per the 1861 photo. Interior and Yellowwood ceilings were largely intact. Kitchen chimney rebuilt.	
Other information			
Fagans initial estimation of earthquake damage: Class IV Substantial damage			
Has very good teak French doors and shutters.			
Bought by the TRC for R16'500, restoration cost R25'00 and was sold for R17'000			
Complete roof destroyed by fire in November 2016			
Significance in terms of the NHRA			
	Very significant	Significant	Some significance
Historical			✓
Rarity			✓
Aesthetical		✓	
Technological			✓
Cultural	✓		
Social history		✓	
Slave history	✓		



CATEGORY OF INTERVENTION	33 Church Street	ERF 96 Building & Yard 94, 95 - garden	
Level 1: Conserved/Restored/Repaired			
Name of Building	Date built	Original materials	
The Stables	1890's - 1900	95%	
Architectural period constructed	Architectural style	Type of building	
Late Victorian era	Late Victorian	Agricultural	
General evaluation of Significance	NMC status	NHRA grading	
Significant to streetscape and story of the vernacular	Previous National Monument (1973)	Grade III B (2016)	
Before Photo 1969	Description	History	
	Double story stable block or coach house with tin roof and wooden veranda on side and outside wooden staircase to first floor.	Built as the stable/coach house of house 30, opposite, in the 1890's or early 20 th century. Bought as part of house 30 by the restoration committee in 1971. After restoration the properties were subdivided and this building was converted into a house on two floors	
After Photo - Current	Fransen's Evaluation	1970 Fagan's Alternations	
		One internal wall demolished as part of domestic conversion in +/- 2005. All original features retained	
Other information			
Significance in terms of the NHRA			
	Very significant	Significant	Some significance
Historical			✓
Rarity			✓
Aesthetical			✓
Technological			✓
Cultural	✓		
Social history			✓
Slave history			


CATEGORY OF INTERVENTION	32 Church Street	ERF 178 House 182 Garage 75, 76 Garden	
Level 2: Transformed with reconstruction and some demolitions			
Name of Building	Date built	Original materials	
Yellow Wood House	1801	60%	
Architectural period constructed	Architectural style	Type of building	
Early Cape (Dutch)	Cape Dutch	Residential	
General evaluation of Significance	NMC status	NHRA grading	
Significant to streetscape and story of the vernacular	Previous National Monument (1973)	Grade III A (2016)	
Before Photo 1969	Description	History	
	Fine T-shape Cape Dutch house built in 1801 with ornate Hol-Bol gable, pitched thatch roof and casement windows. Stone stoep and stairs at front, with courtyards behind house. Modern toilet lean-to behind first bedroom.	Built by an entrepreneurial man who owned various farms, a general dealers shop, speculated in property and built many buildings in the area. Fagan lived here. And were responsible for the Victorianisation of the house. Like House 30, much demolition and rebuilding was required to renovate this house.	
After Photo - Current	Fransen's 1970 Evaluation	Fagan's Alternations	
	'The thatched gabled T-form house appears in Victorian form.'	After the earthquake, substantial Victorian and many later additions were demolished to restore original T-shape. The thatch roof and Hol-Bol gable reconstructed to 1861 photo and new casement windows made as per the proportions of the same photo. Ceilings and floors were also changed for wide yellowwood & Oregon planks	
Other information			
Fagans initial estimation of earthquake damage: Class II Moderate damage			
Bought by TRC for R3000, restored for R27'500 and sold for R17'000. The previous owner received the insurance money			
In 1822, this became the only English Free School in Tulbagh as part of Lord Charles Somerset's Anglicization of the interior policy			
Significance in terms of the NHRA			
	Very significant	Significant	Some significance
Historical			✓
Rarity		✓	
Aesthetical		✓	
Technological			✓
Cultural	✓		
Social history	✓		
Slave history			✓


CATEGORY OF INTERVENTION	34 Church Street	183 House & Courtyard 74, 665, 93, 53 garden	
Level 2: Transformed with reconstruction and some demolitions			
Name of Building	Date built	Original materials	
Yellow Wood House	1801	70%	
Architectural period constructed	Architectural style	Type of building	
Early Cape (Dutch)	Cape Dutch	Residential	
General evaluation of Significance	NMC status	NHRA grading	
Significant to streetscape and story of the vernacular	Previous NM (1973)	Grade III A (2016)	
Before Photo 1969	Description	History	
	Fine U-plan Cape Dutch house built in 1795 with a beautiful baroque gable and thatch roof. Some yellowwood joinery remains, but mostly pine floors and ceilings. Casement windows Original ceilings remain, but reproduction internal doors were necessary. Single garage with flat tin roof. Small brick barn or storage rooms in garden on erf 93	After being built, it changed hands many times at one stage being the house of Tulbagh's first fire chief. In 1822, this became the only English Free School in Tulbagh as part of Lord Charles Somerset's Anglicization of the interior policy House changed hands many times, eventually being bought by Roger Silberberg who cooperated with the restoration committee to repair the house	
After Photo - Current	Fransen's 1970 Evaluation	Fagan's Alternations	
	'To be restored by new owner at committee's expense. Originally a gabled U form plan with current Victorian façade.'	After the earthquake, some Victorian additions were demolished to restore original U-shape. The thatch roof and Hol-Bol gable rebuilt to 1861 photo and new casement windows made. Additional Victorian back rooms were conserved with sash windows and French doors.	
Other information			
Fagans initial estimation of earthquake damage: Class II Moderate damage			
Restored for new owner at a cost of R19'000			
Significance in terms of the NHRA			
	Very significant	Significant	Some significance
Historical			✓
Rarity			✓
Aesthetical		✓	
Technological			✓
Cultural	✓		
Social history	✓		
Slave history			✓



CATEGORY OF INTERVENTION	36 Church Street	ERF 185- House, 92-735-Shop/Garage, 65	
Level 1: Conserved/Restored/Repaired			
★ Conserved before earthquake with Mary Cook			
Name of Building	Date built	Original materials	
Monbijou (Ex De Wet House)	1815	95%	
Architectural period constructed	Architectural style	Type of building	
Early Cape / British Occupation	Neo-classical	Residential	
General evaluation of Significance	NMC status	NHRA grading	
Very significant and unique building	Previous National Monument (1954)	Grade II (2016)	
Before Photo 1969	Description	History	
	Unusual and very graceful double story town house built in the French tradition. Large established gardens down to river with swimming pool, pond and a commercial building, with rectangular with flat iron roof and moulded parapet on erf 92	Built in around 1815, is an unusual design that was popular in Cape Town in the early 1800s. It was built for Catharine Hugo, a young widower of French Huguenot lineage. It's widely believed that Thibault designed this house on French proportions while working on the Tulbagh Drostdy. The house was bought by Helmut Silberberg in 1963 who named it Monbijou.	
After Photo - Current	Fransen's 1970 Evaluation	Alternations	
	<i>'Repaired by existing owner. The most important architectural monument in Church Street, some claim designed by Thibault, the only double story in Tulbagh. It was recommended that the house be demolished. ; However the owner H.K. Silberberg has already started to repair it. The house is in authentic condition so does not need restoration nor qualify for help from the committee.'</i>	The rectangular house has not change substantially over the centuries. The house was renovated back to its former glory in the 1950s by Sir Alfred Beit, a former, on the advice of Dr Mary Cook.	
Other information			
Fagans initial estimation of earthquake damage: Class I Minor cracks May require more involved tying up than some of its neighbours.			
Restored by owner, TRC contributed R2'000			
In addition to being a private residence, the house was also used as Tulbagh's first magistrate's court and later as a school hostel.			
Significance in terms of the NHRA			
	Very significant	Significant	Some significance
Historical		✓	
Rarity	✓		
Aesthetical	✓		
Technological		✓	
Cultural	✓		
Social history		✓	
Slave history		✓	



CATEGORY OF INTERVENTION	38 Church Street	ERF 655	
Level 4: Completely rebuilt or demolished			
Name of Building	Date built	Original materials	
Tuisnywerheid, het Land van Waweren	1973	5%	
Architectural period constructed	Architectural style	Type of building	
Modern on early foundations	Cape Dutch/Long House	Residential /Shop	
General evaluation of Significance	NMC status	NHRA grading	
Significant to streetscape and story of the vernacular	NA	Grade III C (2016)	
Before Photo 1969	Description	History	
	Simple Cape longhouse with pitched thatched roof, casement windows and shutters with stable doors. Traditional slate stoep at front. Consists of one large room with five windows.	Original building changed hands many times and substantial additions made. After the earthquake and over zealous owner, set about demolishing the building with the intention to rebuild. Fortunately the restoration committee was able to buy the plot and largely demolished building and set about recreating the house back to its 1861 appearance. The restored house was donated to Tulbagh municipality as a community art and cultural centre.	
After Photo - Current	Fransen's 1970 Evaluation	Fagan's Alternations	
	'Originally an un-gabled longhouse built in 1861. After the earthquake, the house was demolished by its owner, D. Beresford, who has however agreed to sell the plot to the committee who would also benefit from an insurance payout. Fransen states that the house will have to be rebuilt as it appears in the 1861 photograph.'	House completely rebuilt in 1973 (to match 1861 photo) as new on existing old foundation and incorporating some existing mud walls Original slate stoep remained and was repaired with plastered seats rebuilt at either end. All new period joinery throughout	
Other information			
Fagans initial estimation of earthquake damage: Class V Catastrophic			
Owner has begun demolition.			
Plot bought by TRC for R6300, rebuilt at cost of R18'000, sold for R10'000			
The premature demolition of the original house after the earthquake raised the awareness of the vulnerability of the whole street and thus kick started the proclamation process.			
Significance in terms of the NHRA			
	Very significant	Significant	Some significance
Historical			
Rarity			
Aesthetical		✓	
Technological			✓
Cultural	✓		
Social history	✓		



CATEGORY OF INTERVENTION	Church Street	ERF 196	
Level 2: Transformed with reconstruction and some demolitions			
Name of Building	Date built	Original materials	
'40s'	+/- 1795	75%	
Architectural period constructed	Architectural style	Type of building	
Early Cape VOC/British occupation	Early Cape	Residential	
General evaluation of Significance	NMC status	NHRA grading	
Significant to streetscape and story of the vernacular	Previous National Monument (1971)	Grade III A (2016)	
Before Photo 1969	Description	History	
	T-Shape Cape Dutch house with back extension. Thatched with elaborate Hol-Bol gable	Later in the century the district surgeon lived and practiced from here. At the time of the earthquake the building appeared as another Victoria conversion, which the owner wanted to demolish in order to expand his shop.	
After Photo - Current	Fransen's 1970 Evaluation	Fagan's Alternations	
	<i>'Originally an incomplete h-shape Cape Dutch house built in 1801 with a holbol front gable, however now it externally appears Victorian. The owner J.M. van Zyl, who also owned 6 & 10 has already agreed to the restoration however his conditions and an insurance claim are uncertain. (A year later the TRC reported that the work here was well delayed, plagued by an un-cooperative owner and poor workmanship by one of the builders.'</i>	The floor plan and yellow wood ceilings and internal joinery is largely original. After the earthquake, the gable and thatch roof was reinstated to match the existing photos, drawings and paintings of this important house.	
Other information			
Fagans initial estimation of earthquake damage: Class III Significant damage			
Restored by TRC for owner to the value of R16'300			
Built in the 1790s by Magteld Smith, the world renowned anti-slave crusader and had come to Tulbagh to assist with teaching 'the slaves and the heathen'. The South African Mission Society was founded in this house in 1799.			
Significance in terms of the NHRA			
	Very significant	Significant	Some significance
Historical	✓		
Rarity		✓	
Aesthetical		✓	
Technological			✓
Cultural	✓		
Social history	✓		
Slave history	✓		


CATEGORY OF INTERVENTION	Church Street Kitchen Gardens	ERF 734, 255, 56	
Excluded			
Name of Garden	Date built	Original materials	
Church Street Kitchen Gardens			
Architectural period constructed	Architectural style	Type of plot	
		Kitchen gardens	
General evaluation of Significance	NMC status	NHRA grading	
Significant to streetscape and story of the slaves & pioneers	Previous National Monument (1980) Gazette (56 & 255) together	NA	
Before Photo 2012	Description	History	
	<p>The two largest of Church Streets kitchen plots, it includes a section over the river on Galgeheuwel.</p> <p>After the earthquake ERF 56 was donated to the National Monuments council for preservation thereof as it is an important part of the historic street scene if Church Street. Ownership transferred to SAHRA with dissolution of Monuments Council.</p>	<p>Originally sold by the Church around 1800 as the kitchen garden of house 42. This plot was eventually subdivided from its main house and changed hands many times. In 2008, Erf 734 bought from Tulbagh Farmers Winery to establish the Tulbagh Gardens Collective</p>	
After Photo - Current	Fransen's Evaluation	Fagan's Alternations	
Other information			
The undeveloped gardens Erven in Church street are an integral part of the historic street scape which traditionally included open agricultural plots. The pioneers, their servants and slaves would spend much of their working day toiling in these fields to produce food for the household			
Significance in terms of the NHRA			
	Very significant	Significant	Some significance
Historical			✓
Rarity			✓
Aesthetical		✓	
Cultural	✓		
Social		✓	
Slave History	✓		


CATEGORY OF INTERVENTION	8 Church Street	ERF 267	
Level 4: Completely rebuilt or demolished			
Name of Building	Date built	Original materials	
House 8	1900	0 %	
Architectural period constructed	Architectural style	Type of building	
Late Victorian/Edwardian	Late Victorian, modernised	Residential	
General evaluation of Significance	NMC status	NHRA grading	
NA	NA	NA	
Before Photo 1969	Description	History	
			
After Photo - Current	Fransen's 1970 Evaluation	Fagan's Alternations	
NA	<p><i>Built around 1900, the house is in a good condition, but appears ugly in its modernised form with face brick veranda. 'The architect is of the opinion that the house should be demolished, although one could also give it an 1895 appearance.'</i></p>		
Other information			
Fagans initial estimation of earthquake damage: Class I Minor cracks			
Bought by TRC for R3'500, demolition and garden cost R5'000			
Significance in terms of the NHRA			
	Very significant	Significant	Some significance
Historical			
Rarity			
Aesthetical			
Technological			
Cultural			
Social history			
Slave history			

CATEGORY OF INTERVENTION	42 Church Street	197 House 202, 203,204,205,206	
Level 3: Transformed with substantial reconstruction & substantial demolition			
Name of Building	Date built	Original materials	
Old Parsonage	1795	50%	
Architectural period constructed	Architectural style	Type of building	
Early Cape(transitional Dutch/British)	Cape Dutch – U shape	Residential	
General evaluation of Significance	NMC status	NHRA grading	
Significant to streetscape and story of the vernacular	Previous National Monument (1971)	Grade III A (2016)	
Before Photo 1969	Description	History	
	U-Shape Cape Dutch house with thatch roof and neo classical gable. Front stoep will columns and slate stairs. Large sash windows and stable doors with fanlights.	In the 1870's the Kruisvallei congregation bought the house to serve as a second parsonage. This was due to a split in the church over a certain minister refusing to christen or marry certain members. By the time of the earthquake this building had the appearance of a double story Victorian house.	
After Photo - Current	Fransen's 1970 Evaluation	Fagan's Alternations	
	<i>'Victorianised U-shape Cape Dutch from 1796. Purchased by TRC. "Although this house is one of the few (in the street), where its Victorian form is not unattractive (as with House 25), it has been decided to bring it back to its original (Cape Dutch) form so that it will form a beautiful unit with ...(two existing Cape Dutch houses)...the NG parsonage and Ballotina... at the North end of the Street"</i>	After the earthquake, substantial Victorian and later additions were demolished to restore the original U-Shape. Gables, roof structure and joinery were reinstated to match old photos as well as surviving drawings and sketches, including those of Burchal. The restoration effort, rebuilding and resources used in this building were extreme and detailed in Gawie Fagan's book.	
Other information			
Fagans initial estimation of earthquake damage: Class III			
Bought by TRC for R19'500, restoration cost R31'300, sold for R25 000			
Ironically this resulted in the two opposing ministers living next door to each other. The two ministers actually had to cross each other on Sundays to reach their respective churches. Despite various attempt to mend this rift, the two congregations were eventually only reunited in 1935			
(A year later it is reported that two teams of builders had unsatisfactorily worked on the building and that thus Mr Brochetto would complete it).			
Significance in terms of the NHRA			
	Very significant	Significant	Some significance
Historical		✓	
Rarity		✓	
Aesthetical		✓	
Technological			✓
Cultural	✓		
Social history		✓	


CATEGORY OF INTERVENTION	41 Church Street	ERF 48	
Level 1: Conserved/Restored/Repaired ★ Partly conserved before earthquake by Mary Cook			
Name of Building	Date built	Original materials	
Ballotina	1815	90%	
Architectural period constructed	Architectural style	Type of building	
Early Cape / British occupation	Early British occupation	Residential	
General evaluation of Significance	NMC status	NHRA grading	
Very significant & intact building	Previous National Monument (1971)	Grade III A (2016)	
Before Photo 1969	Description	History	
	Grand U-shaped house with garage Large sash windows, double door and fanlight. Thatch roof with neo classical gable	Built around 1815 by widow of Rev. Ballot is suspected that Thibault had a hand in designing this house as he was related to the owner/builder and was visiting Tulbagh at the time to oversee the building of the Drostdy.	
After Photo - Current	Fransen's 1970 Evaluation	Fagan's Alternations	
	<i>'Possibly by the hand of Thibault, with unusual geometric gable. House largely unaltered. Owned by Dr. Mary Cook who looks forward to comprehensive restoration.'</i>	Largely intact house with original gables, roof structure and some joinery. Restoration committee stripped the house of its additions and modernisations, stabilised the gables and re-thatched. Original windows re-installed. Garage built new in 1945, renovated in 2010.	
Other information			
Fagans initial estimation of earthquake damage: Class IV Substantial damage			
TRC paid R33'200 for restoration for owner- some insurance money			
Ballotina housed the Tulbagh School from 1880 to 1905, this was a non-sectarian government school established by the new Tulbagh council.			
Home of Mary Cook (1922 – 1981), academic and crusader of Cape vernacular architecture			
Significance in terms of the NHRA			
	Very significant	Significant	Some significance
Historical		✓	
Rarity		✓	
Aesthetical		✓	
Technological			✓
Cultural	✓		
Social history		✓	
Slave history		✓	

CATEGORY OF INTERVENTION	43 Church Street	ERF 1903 Building & Gardens	
Excluded: Existent pre-1900 buildings, restored by owner without Fagan ★ Conserved before earthquake with Mary Cook			
Name of Building	Date built	Original materials	
NG Parsonage	1765	95%	
Architectural period constructed	Architectural style	Type of building	
Early Cape VOC era	Cape Dutch	Parsonage	
General evaluation of Significance	NMC status	NHRA grading	
Very significant, has Grade I potential with its Church	Never declared	Grade II (2016)	
Before Photo 1969	Description	History	
	Fine U Shape Cape Dutch House in near original condition. Following the grand proportions of high Cape Dutch building with large Sash windows, half sized Dutch shutters and a very ornate door way and ornate Hol-Bol gable. Gabled thatched wine cellar on site. Double garages.	Parsonage was built in 1765 .A stable was added in 1777, a wine cellar in 1783 and a mill in 1790. Extensive slave quarters and storage rooms were added in 1805. After the earthquake, demolition was considered, but eventually avoided when the parsonage and outbuildings were repaired	
After Photo - Current	Fransen's 1970 Evaluation	Alternations	
	<i>'This magnificent building at the far-end of Church Street dates form 1769, the outside building from 1785. Both have been restored by the Church Counsel already" The Church has declined to have the property declared a national monument.'</i>	From 1890, Victorian modernisation stated to take place and was completed by 1909. The parsonage was restored some years before the earthquake back into its current appearance. Roof structure not typical Cape design as the rafters extend past the wall to create eaves.	
Other information			
Class I Minor cracks and plaster off Pastorie & chapel, both have front gables half off and other gables have moved free, but proportionate to the condition of the rest of the building, the damage is not severe.			
Remarkably this is still the home of the NG Dominie more than 200 years after being built. A long line of accomplished theologians lived here including Vos, Kircherer and Ballot. The outbuildings have been continuously used as schools and community meeting points. Its remarkable that this building is still serving its original purpose and the Tulbagh community 240 years later			
Significance in terms of the NHRA			
	Very significant	Significant	Some significance
Historical	✓		
Rarity	✓		
Aesthetical	✓		
Technological		✓	
Cultural	✓		
Social history	✓		
Slave history	✓		

CATEGORY OF INTERVENTION	34 Van der Stel Street	ERF 232	
Level 1: Conservation & repair			
Name of Building	Date built	Original materials	
Meiring House (Now Melbourne House)	1858	90%	
Architectural period constructed	Architectural style	Type of building	
Mid-Victorian (Thatch & Gable original)	Victorian	Residential	
General evaluation of Significance	NMC status	Suggested grading NHRA	
Significant	Previous National Monument (1973)	Grade III A	
Before Photo 1969	Description	History	
After Photo - Current	Fransen's 1970 Evaluation	Fagan's Alternations	
	<p>'A Victorianised house that appeared in the 1861 photo with thatch and a gable. The TRC is negotiating to include this house in the project'.</p>	<p>Undocumented. Mid-Victorian appearance was retained.</p>	
Other information			
Bought by TRC, restored by them at their cost and resold.			
Significance in terms of the NHRA			
	Very significant	Significant	Some significance
Historical			
Rarity			
Aesthetical			
Technological			
Cultural	✓		
Social history			
Slave history			

CATEGORY OF INTERVENTION	36 Van der Stel Street	ERF 821	
Excluded: Existent pre-1900 buildings, restored by owner without Fagan			
Name of Building	Date built	Original materials	
De La Rey-Huis	1860s	90%	
Architectural period constructed	Architectural style	Type of building	
Mid-Victorian (Thatch & Gable original)	Victorian	Residential	
General evaluation of Significance	NMC status	Suggested NHRA grading	
Significant		Grade III A	
Before Photo 1969	Description	History	
After Photo - Current	Fransen's 1970 Evaluation	Fagan's Alternations	
	<p>'Letter from the N.M.C to the owner who is undertaking restoration himself has requested to assist with maintenance of this property. The N.M.C. declined the request recommending that the owner should contact an estate agent and would investigate the option of de-proclamation.⁵⁸²</p>		
Other information			
Significance in terms of the NHRA			
	Very significant	Significant	Some significance
Historical			✓
Rarity		✓	
Aesthetical		✓	
Technological			
Cultural		✓	
Social history			
Slave history			

582 Copy of speech of prime minister, attached to NMC minutes 23rd November 74 NMC Executive Committee minutes

CATEGORY OF INTERVENTION	38 Van der Stel Street	ERF 244	
Excluded: Existent pre-1900 buildings, restored by owner without Fagan			
Name of Building	Date built	Original materials	
	1860s	90%	
Architectural period constructed	Architectural style	Type of building	
Early Victorian	Victorian	Residential	
General evaluation of Significance	NMC status	Suggested grading NHRA	
Some significance	NA	Grade III A	
Before Photo 1969	Description	History	
After Photo - Current	Fransen's 1970 Evaluation	Fagan's Alternations	
			
Other information			
Significance in terms of the NHRA			
	Very significant	Significant	Some significance
Historical			✓
Rarity		✓	
Aesthetical		✓	
Technological			
Cultural		✓	

Appendix D

Response letters to the NMC provisional proclamation

Amongst other response letters sent from property owners to the NMC over the following months were the following appeals and well as one of support:

- The family living in 21 Church Street stated that the house was only 115 years old and had always been in such a poor condition that it could never have been considered heritage and that, after the earthquake, it was falling apart and like most other houses in the street, was not worthy of being a national monument. The owner had wanted to demolish the house and sell the land, but was willing to accept restoration, as long as it was not for his account. 20th November 1969.⁵⁸³
- The NG Church council responded, saying that J.B. Collins, (who had restored the building twenty years earlier), had been appointed as architect to restore the earthquake damaged parsonage. Furthermore the Church felt that the building's proposed proclamation was an infringement on the privacy of the resident minister and his family, proposing instead the continuance of the earlier agreement between the NMC as ratified by the Church council twenty years earlier, to always treat the building in a dignified manner and as far as possible ensure its preservation.⁵⁸⁴ The NMC were satisfied with this compromise, agreeing to "step away from the parsonage proclamation for now".⁵⁸⁵
- In a letter from Mr Stofberg, the head of Boland Bank to the NMC, "As the major supplier of long term credit in the Tulbagh area, the bank conveys its willingness to contribute towards the rebuilding of the area. In particular House 24 Church Street (the only H shaped house in the street), which was at the time the home of their local bank manager; and so badly damaged that their architects advised full demolition". The bank conveyed its willingness to contribute the insurance money of the property towards 'the full restoration of the house back into its original appearance'; however, makes it clear that the other half of the money will have to come from other sources, failing which, 'they will have no other option but to demolish the house'.⁵⁸⁶

⁵⁸³ Letter from resident to NMC, 31 October 1969. Letter in SAHRA files. Ironically, the 'Danie Theron' house, is one of only four houses in the street to still have original gables, yet was not considered 'heritage' by its occupant.

⁵⁸⁴ Letter from NGK to NMC, 20th November 1969. Letter in SAHRA files.

⁵⁸⁵ NMC executive Committee minutes, 27th Jan 1971. Letter in SAHRA files.

⁵⁸⁶ Letter from Boland Bank to the NMC, 30 October 1969. Letter in SAHRA files.

- In a letter to the NMC Mary Cook welcomes the proclamation of her property; however, had felt that it was her duty to first reverse (as far as possible) the damage done by alterations at the main periods (i.e. in the 1870s in order to adapt the building to a non-denominational school; and in 1928 by a private owner who tried to bring its appearance in line with the then-fashionable Dutch-renaissance style). Cook writes that she had already reversed the damage associated with the School period before the earthquake.⁵⁸⁷
- Two elderly owners were most dissatisfied by the lack of clarity regarding their future of their properties (Houses 4 & 12) Church Street and it was requested that the NMC please negotiate a final solution asap.⁵⁸⁸
- A letter from the Town Clerk at Tulbagh Municipality to the secretary of the NMC informed them that a building owned by the municipality, described as a historic building at 4 Waveren Street or just as 'Waveren' that was provisionally declared a national monument had already been demolished on orders of the Tulbagh town council.⁵⁸⁹ It seems uncharacteristic that the Tulbagh town was on one hand supporting the Church Street restoration but yet choosing to demolish other buildings owned by them despite having been provisionally promulgated.

⁵⁸⁷ Letter from Mary Cook to NMC, 28 August 1970. Cook and the NMC had already before the earthquake taken steps towards the permanent proclamation of Ballotina, a process that was only completed in 1972 according to the NMC general Tulbagh report on the 20 October 1971.

⁵⁸⁸ Letter to NMC, 21 January 1970. Letter in SAHRA files. The letter is on official SA Parliamentary letterhead from PS Marais, MP of Moorreesburg.

Appendix E

Significant decisions in later TRC Meetings (1970 – 1974)

1. To implement Fagan's changes as approved by the Works Committee.
2. To send a friendly request to Cape Provincial Administration asking that the Tulbagh divisional council move their offices and workshops from their Church Street location, 'as they will not be conducive to the character of the (reconstructed) street'.
3. That Fagan could procure any architectural salvage required.
4. To contribute towards the costs of restoration of nine other Tulbagh properties where owners had undertaken approved restoration themselves. These were Jackson Cottage and Vrede in Drostdy Village, and the farm houses on Uitvlucht, Klipfontein, Schoonderzicht, Montpellier, Tweek Jonge Gezellen, Welgegund and Wolwefontein.⁵⁹⁰ (Despite this financial support, half these houses did not survive the next half century).
5. To petition the NMC to initiate permanent proclamation procedures for buildings both in Church Street and further afield.
6. Hans Fransen submitted a nine page report to the TRC outlining property by property the history of the individual buildings in the Street, their original form according to the 1861 and 1890 panoramic photos, their contemporary form (at the time of the earthquake), as well as restoration plans. Details on each property were also provided in relation to insurance compensation, agreements with owners or purchase plans by the committee. Highlights from this report have been included in the tables in Appendix C.⁵⁹¹
7. Fagan reported that the designs were completed and already handed into NMC for approval, after which Tulbagh town council would need to approve as well as the various owners. Prof Schultz (who was present), confirmed that the plans had been received by the NMC and had already been approved (very promptly indeed, perhaps an indication of the political pressure involved).

⁵⁹⁰ NMC minutes, 29th May 1970.

⁵⁹¹ Agenda of the TRC, 30 June 1970. In SAHRA files.

8. The Department of Postal and telecommunications were to bury telephone lines and Tulbagh municipality were requested to put Church Street's electric cables underground as well as to install a system of fire hydrants in the Street due to the risk of fire in the thatch houses.
9. The Department of Information and Killarney Film Studios (SA Spieël) were considering making a film of the restoration for local and international news.
10. During his progress report, Fagan stated that there was a 'cultural marketing value' to Church Street which 'enhanced our culture and furthers the awareness of conservation'. Discussing tourism, Fagan believed that the restored street would be popular with visitors because 'there is a gap for an accessible traditional Cape Dutch village consisting of homes in the spirit of their times.'⁵⁹²
11. At the meeting it was reported that the first house to be completed, number 16, had been restored and that the owner had moved in. Fagan also reported that the contract with building firm Kerr and Hagermann had been terminated due to unsatisfactory performance and that R. Brochetto had been contracted and would personally oversee the restoration of Church Street. . At the meeting Mr. André du Toit committed his organisation to helping in effected wine areas and would investigate taking a role in the Church Street project. The Department of Information was filming the restoration project and had also filmed the morning visit by the Honourable Prime Minister.⁵⁹³

⁵⁹² Agenda of the TRC, 16 June 72. In SAHRA archives.

⁵⁹³ It was recorded in the minutes that a copy of the Prime Minister's earlier speech would be attached to the TRC minutes. (This was fortunate as it was the only copy of the speech that was uncovered in this research.)

Appendix F

Remembering ‘recently’ lost settlements, farm houses and churches of the Tulbagh valley

Red = Lost since 1969

Black=Surviving in 2016

Coloured Settlements

A Helpmekaar

B Drostdy Village

C Steinthal

D Stasieweg

White owned farms

1 Verrekyker

2 Waterval

R Kluitjieskraal

3 Roodezandt

4 Twee Jonge Gezellen

5 Uitvlucht

6 Middelpost

7 Klipfontein

8 La Bon Esperance

9 Drostdy building & Jackson's
Cottage

10 Witzenberg

11 Schoonderzicht

12 Schalkenbosch

13 Tulbagh Village

14 Steinthal **Mission** & School

15 Montpellier

16 Brouwerstraad

17 Te Rhone

18 Wolwefontein

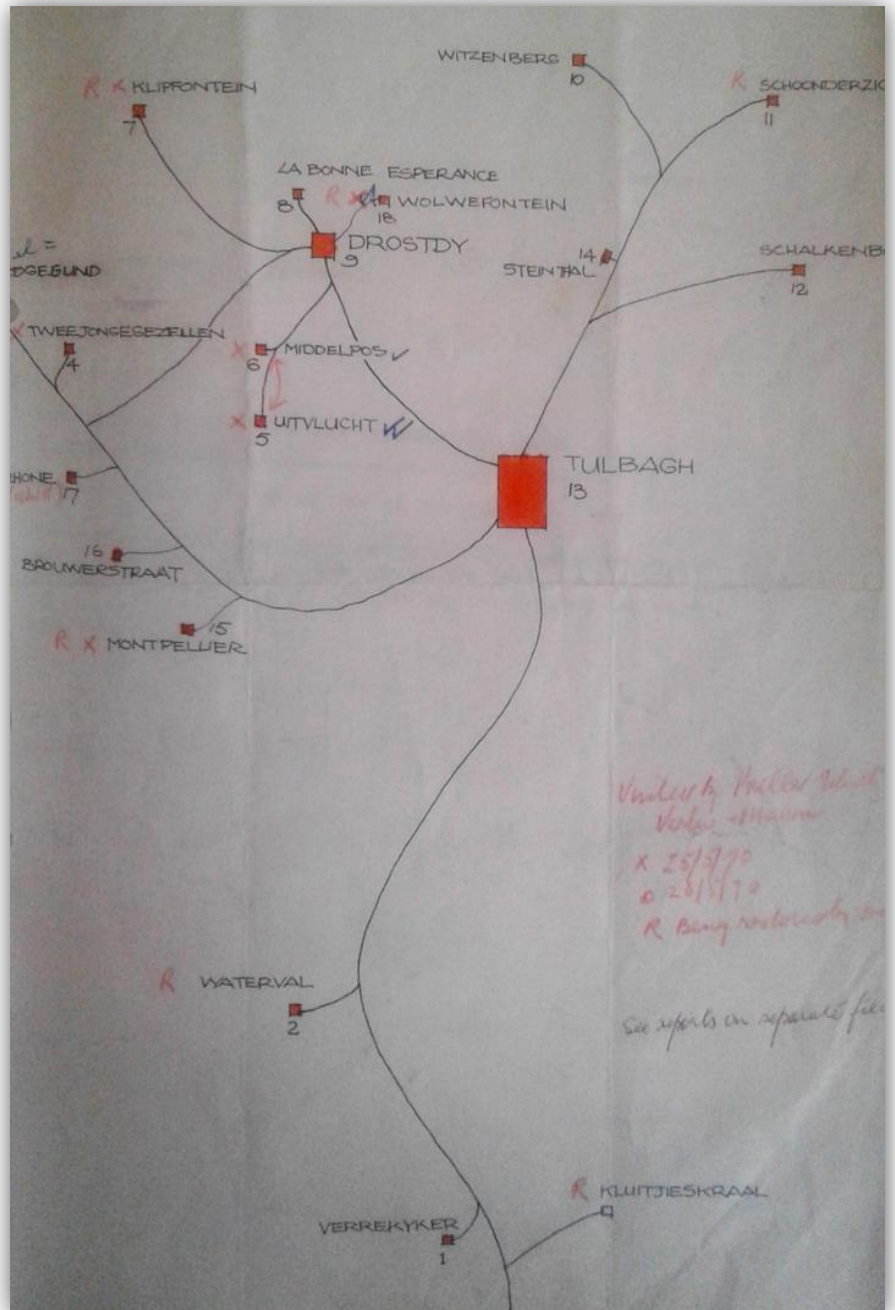


Fig. 110. Fagan's initial survey map of the Tulbagh valley with his numberings of farm houses. Letters representing the Coloured settlements TO BE added by author. Underlined names are those farms that received a reconstruction subsidy from the NMC (map from Fagan archive).

Vanished farmsteads of the Tulbagh valley

Diggers Home. A farm homestead was severely damaged in the earthquake.⁵⁹⁴ No sign of this house exists in 2016.

Middelpost. 1807 T- shape thatched house with triangular gable.⁵⁹⁵ After the earthquake, the owner, a Mr du Toit did nothing to help himself.⁵⁹⁶ No sign of the house exists today.

Terhone (Le Rhone). Half the house was modern, façade altered with thatch extended over the façade. Owned at the time of the earthquake by the secretary of the Divisional council.⁵⁹⁷

Uitvlucht. Charming 1803 house had only been slightly damaged in the earthquake and received a NMC subsidy. In November 1972 the house was destroyed in a veld fire.⁵⁹⁸

Vooruitsig. The house of C.P. Walker

Waterval. The house of Brig J.A. vd Hoven was over 200 years old was severely damaged in the earthquake.⁵⁹⁹

Waveren. The house of Ms D. Krone

Welgegund. Received a NMC grant and proclaimed, restoration never completed.

Wolwefontein. Received a NMC grant and proclaimed, however was destroyed in the 1990s.

Kleitjieskraal. Gabled homestead owned by Forestry Department, who demolished it in the early 1970s.



Fig. 111. Wolwefontein was abandoned after a roof fire in the 1990s after which its joinery removed and sold off, the house now crumbling in a ruined state (cutting from UCT archives).

⁵⁹⁴ Our Courier. 15 Nov 1969.

⁵⁹⁵ Fransen and Cook, *Old Houses*, 181.

⁵⁹⁶ Letter from Mary Cook to the National Monuments council. February 1970.

⁵⁹⁷ Memo from NMC, 23 October. In SAHRA archive

⁵⁹⁸ Cape Times, 11 Nov 1972. Cutting in UCT archives.

⁵⁹⁹ Our Courier, 15 Nov 1969.

The 'Kruisvallei' Tulbagh Church

In 1843, the puritan Rev. Robert Shand became the minister of the Dutch Reformed congregation of Tulbagh, thereafter insisting that only parents who had 'security of faith' (converts who attended church regularly) were allowed to christen their children in his Oudekerk. The Tulbagh congregation split on the issue and a schism occurred, which resulted in the new liberal Kruisvallei congregation building their 'neo-gothic' Church at the other end of the town, opposite the N.G. parsonage, the site of the modern N.G. Kerk. Over the next fifty years the Kruisvallei church was extended and improved, first by the addition of a decorative bell tower and later by two cross wings, a gallery and an ornate perimeter wall with railings built around the church grounds. Today, only the wall exists.⁶⁰⁰

Fagan reported that the N.G. Kerk played no part in the Tulbagh restoration at all and that his only contact with the Church authorities, over the course of the entire restoration, had been to appeal the demolition of Tulbagh's Victorian Neo-gothic N.G. Kerk. Although there had been nationwide support for keeping the old Church, the people of Tulbagh were split over the issue, saying that the building 'was spoilt by additions and alterations', and not reminiscent of any specific building style.



Fig. 112. The Kruisvallei Church was built in stages from 1843. Top photo, as originally constructed in its rectangular form (unknown cutting from Rosette Jordaan). Middle photo, with the addition of the bell tower and transepts (slide from Fagan archive). The Kruisvallei Church during demolition after the earthquake (slide from Fagan archive).

⁶⁰⁰ Van Zyl, *Tulbagh*, 64. The two manses/parsonages were directly opposite each other and then ministers thus had to cross each other's paths regularly. When Pieter Theron of 'Kruisvallei' church, wanted to marry Lenie Rossouw of the Tulbagh church, neither minister was prepared to marry them so that Pieter has to take his buggy and fetch the Reverend Holzapfel.

Both Fagan and the state engineers from the Boland disaster committee had stated that the Church was, 'the first in South Africa to be built with concrete' and thus should be repaired because of its historical, cultural and architectural value.⁶⁰¹ Mary Cook also pointed out that building was an excellent example of churches built in that era. According to Fagans' estimation, the Church, which had been only slightly damaged in the earthquake would have cost around R60 000 to repair, the Church administration however could not be convinced to repair it and it was finally demolished in December 1970.⁶⁰² The church council's final word was that the building was unsafe and could not be repaired, and that the new church would be a 'stately building with a traditional appearance'. And so it was that in September 1973, at a cost of some R290 000, a new Church, built in a modern take of the Cape revival style, was inaugurated.⁶⁰³ It is ironic that this was almost the same amount as the total the State granted to the TRC to restore all of Church Street.

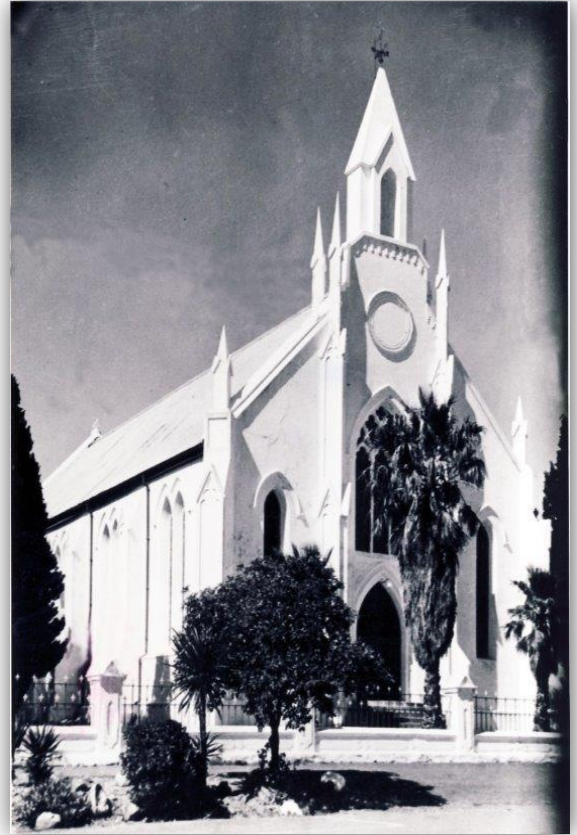


Fig. 113. Despite the schism, the conservative Tulbagh congregation outgrew their 'Oudekerk', resulting in a new Tulbagh Church being built (also in a neo-Gothic style), on a site opposite the old church. This building was however demolished by the NG church council after reunification and the congregation moved to the Kruisvallei Church.



Fig. 114. The neo-gothic Tulbagh church of the conservative Tulbagh congregation, facing the wide still un-surfaced Van der Stel Street in the early 20th century. Church street runs north on the far left (Ravinscraft image, Cape archives).

⁶⁰¹ 'Historiese Kerk Swig', *Die Burger*, 16 December 1970. Cutting in UCT archives.

⁶⁰² Van Zyl, *Tulbagh*.

⁶⁰³ *Die Burger* clipping, undated, pre 73.

Appendix G

Archival sources and Interviews

Historical Homes of South Africa (HHSa) keep their archives in four large antique yellow wood kists in the Burger House, their Stellenbosch head quarters. Most of the information there related to their post Tulbagh later restorations of Stellenbosch, Graaff-Reinet and Paarl. The Tulbagh information found largely related to the presidential organisation, suggesting that HHSa had clearly spent a lot of time planning that event.

Cape Provincial Institute of Architects (CPIA) donated their pre-1980 records to the National Archives in Cape Town, where close to a thousand boxes of files exist. In addition to a few committee meetings and regular AGM reports, the Tulbagh restoration hardly featured at all. I only found one small box entitled 'Boland Disaster' which had a wealth of records, cuttings and papers relating to the first month after the earthquake, suggesting that although the CPIA initiated and would later take credit for the successful restoration, the institute's involvement was limited primarily to the first month after the earthquake.

Fagan Architects In relation to their lifetimes of significant work, Gwen Fagan insists that '*we never throw anything away*'. Their private back room archive is substantial, including thousands of slide photographs, (which UCT or the CPIA should attempt to copy). The Fagans have copies of most of the documents that came their way over the years including correspondence with most the other proponents and notes from the Works Committee meetings.

South African Heritage Resources Agency (SAHRA) The records of the National Monuments Council are held in their Cape Town head office and in addition to some 'general' Tulbagh files. National monument files are primarily about the provisional and then the permanent declaration of each property as a national monument, however in between there are gems of correspondence between various parties about specific issues

The Simon Van der Stel Foundation donated their records to the University of Port Elizabeth. As I was able to locate sufficient copies of their significant records in other archives and libraries, I did not resort to a trip to a second trip to P.E.

University of Cape Town have two boxes of Tulbagh newspaper clippings (1920s to 1990s) which were in particular were useful in regards to filling in the details of the pre-earthquake situation and earlier conservations by Sir Meiring and Lady Beck as well as Mary Cook.

South African Library in Cape Town was able to supply me with hard and electronic copies of newspapers from around the country for October and November 1969. In addition to the National Papers like the Sunday Times, I also looked at the Natal Mercury, Eastern Province Herald, the Transvaler, Beeld, The Star and all the Cape papers (Argus, Cape Times and Die Burger).

Interviews

Peter Whitlock. Chairman of Graaff-Reinet Historical Association and heritage architect. Interview and personal guided architectural walking tour of Graaff-Reinet on 20 October 2014.

Anziske Kayster. Manager of Graaff-Reinet Museum. Interview 20 October 2014.

Carolyn Stone. Retired chairperson of HHSA and committee member of the TRC 1975 to 2007
October 2016 Telephone call and follow up email.

Gwen and Gawie Fagan. Architects of the Tulbagh restoration. Interviews and Meetings in April, 5 July and 17 September 2014 and 21 September and 29 October 2016.

Hans Fransen. Historian, Author and member of Tulbagh Restoration Committee. Heritage. Interviewed in 4 April 2014, 5 July 2015.

Len Raymond. Current chairman of South African Heritage Organisation and Drakenstein Heritage Foundation ex-chairman in 15 October 2014 and 26 November 2016.